THE MEASURES OF MINISTRY TO PREVENT A REVOLUTION, ARE THE CERTAIN MEANS OF BRINGING IT ON.

THIRD EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR D. I. EATON, AT THE COCK AND SWINE, NO. 74, NEWGATE-STREET.

1794.

PRICE ONE SHILLING AND SIX-PENCE.

*74-313

To be published on the 16th of August, 1794, Price 6d.

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Monarchy no Creature of God's making

Pigot's Political Dictionary

And ſeveral others

INTRODUCTION.

UNCONNECTED with every ſpecies of party, and uninfected by the infatuation of the day, I have extracted from thoſe principles, which God has proſcribed for the courſe of human affairs, documents, to ſhew how directly they have been violated by the conduct your government has purſued; ſo heavy, and ſo awful a charge ſhould rouſe your ſerious attention.

The ableſt of the advocates for excluding, by force, from England thoſe principles, which have given birth to the French Revolution, or, according to their way of reaſoning, thoſe principles to which the French Revolution has given birth, allow they form a phenomenon, which had never made its appearance before; this being admitted on all ſides, is it wiſe to reaſon from thoſe times in which no ſuch phenomenon ever appeared? or ſhall we not reaſon from what we ſee in the times in which it has happened? Has ſociety undergone any changes from the times when theſe principles were unknown, and inoperative, to the preſent times, when they are ſo generally known, and when their being generally operative is ſo violently dreaded? It reſts with you to adopt your conduct to the change, or to act on as if no ſuch Revolution had happened, and brave the conſequence. So fully has every thing I have ever ſeen, convinced me of the omnipotence

and wiſdom of God, and of the weakneſs and folly of man, that I ſought but to be aſſured, whether what I ſaw was the capricious doings of a few individuals, or the work of the Almighty, to be perſuaded what part I ſhould take: The awful ſtillneſs under which this ſtupendous phenomenon made its appearance; the force with which its irreſiſtible torrent overwhelms all oppoſition; and the horror it ſpreads throughout all Europe in its courſe, flaſhed conviction on my mind, it was the ſublime act of the Omnipotent. From that inſtant I ceaſed all womaniſh complaint, ſatisfied it was the act of God, I applied myſelf to account, for what I preſumed not to condemn. I compared the times which had paſt, with the times in which we live, and finding that the ſenſeleſs ſubmiſſion of diſpirited ſlaves and villains had been exchanged for the independence of ſturdy yeomen and freemen. That univerſal ignorance had been ſucceeded by growing knowledge, and that commerce had introduced new claſſes into ſociety. It appeared to me, that the bulk of mankind were become impatient under the increaſing difficulties, the continuance of unjuſt laws, and abſurd diſtinctions have occaſioned in full ſtocked population.

When the mind has arrived at that ſtate of political knowledge, by which it is enabled to diſcover the certainty of the immenſe Revolution which at this inſtant operates in civil ſociety, it is apt to be puzzled to account how mankind who are now, even in the moſt enlightened countries, immerſed in ſuch groſs prejudices, ſhall be able to acquire ſufficient knowledge to

eſtabliſh

eſtabliſh and to ſupport the change. The difficulty ariſes from ſuppoſing that knowledge conſiſts in adding to thoſe immenſe collections of nonſenſe, which even to this day bear the name of knowledge amongſt ſo many; but the difficulty will vaniſh, when it reflects, that improvement conſiſts in exchanging the prolixity of complex ſyſtems, for ſyſtems built on principles the moſt ſimple, and the moſt conciſe; the greateſt advance in true knowledge conſiſts in diſencumbering the human mind of all falſe ſyſtems and falſe principles, and in replacing them with true ones. This is the nature of all improvement in mechanics, for ſimplicity denotes the perfection of God, as truly as complexity denotes the imperfection of man.

Strip all religions of their ceremonies, of their miracles, of their prophecies, and of their revelations; reduce them to a religion of reaſon, contemplating God's works. Let mankind arrive at that ſtate, when their wants, from their numbers, will oblige them to ſimplify laws, ſo that juſtice be not loſt in fiction, in chicane, and in quibble. Take away from phyſic its quackery, its noſtrums, and its unaſcertainable experiments; reduce it to a waiting upon, and an aſſiſting of the conſtitution in its efforts to force thoſe obſtructions, which ſtand in the way of that order God has ordained. Conceive what voluminous libraries you conſign to oblivion, and with what a few pages you ſupply their place. In like manner create a prediſpoſing ſyſtem in your political conſtitution, which by going no farther than affording impartial protection, leaves induſtry to find its own level; a conſtitution which ſhall eſtabliſh as great

a tendency to equality in power and property as is conſiſtent with that emulation and induſtry on which the happineſs of mankind ſo entirely depends. What would become of the whole ſtock of knowledge by which thoſe cunning, lying, knaving reptiles, called politicians, have deceived and tyranized over the reſt of God's Creation? how has it happened, that thoſe arts which amuſe, have been brought to the higheſt ſtate of perfection, while thoſe principles on which depends the happineſs or the miſery of the human race, thoſe principles which determine poverty or plenty amongſt nations, have been but juſt given to the world? and how has it happened, that while men in power are loud in praiſe of the man who has given theſe principles, they reject their application, and attempt to brand thoſe who would adopt them with infamy? The anſwer is eaſy—arts which amuſe are carried to perfection without a new order of things; but to adopt thoſe principles by which the condition of mankind would be improved, you muſt aboliſh thoſe monopolies and uſeleſs inequalities by which the few are exalted, and the miriads debaſed.

The well-informed will perceive theſe pages are the produce of a long and attentive ſtudy of mankind through all the Revolutions to which ſociety is ſubject; and although written with haſte on the ſpur of the inſtant, ſo big with the fate of nations, they are evidently the thoughts and principles of

A STOIC.

TO

A STOIC

TO THE

ENGLISH NATION.

THE cauſe of your preſent melancholy condition is ſo immediately connected with the affairs of France, that it is neceſſary to advert to the Revolution of 1789, when that entire nation burſt forth againſt its baſtiles, and the oppreſſions of an arbitrary and prodigal government. It is in vain for individuals of other nations, who have heard their grievances but in part, and felt them not at all, to calculate how far they have exceeded, or fallen ſhort of that energy, which was neceſſary to eſtabliſh freedom upon the ruins of a deſpotiſm, that had exiſted for ages; however fairly the conduct of a few ſcattered individuals may be canvaſſed, when near thirty millions are impelled, their motions is like that of the heavenly bodies, not a ſubject for criticiſm or condemnation, they act not from caprice, but from the impulſe God has engendered in their frame at the creation, which to arraign, is to arraign the Almighty. Thoſe who write from their paſſions, and thoſe who will not receive information through any other channel, wholly unfit themſelves to develope or to comprehend the cauſes of this

ſtupendous Revolution. The annals * of mankind afford no example of a people revolting from a government conducted on the principles of impartial juſtice; on the contrary, they are a ſeries of proofs of the patience, with which they endure, even the worſt governments; and when they have been at laſt rouſed to revolt, the ſeverity of the puniſhment they have inflicted, has been in proportion to the oppreſſion they have felt. You now behold the effects of the oppreſſion of the old French government, but your minds are ſo affrighted at the horrid convulſions of an irritated and enraged people, and the daily accounts of their cruelties have ſo perverted your reaſon, that you are incapable of diſcerning it was the abuſe of power ſo long uncontrouled, in the hands of monarchy and ariſtocracy, which had occaſioned the diſorders you lament; and why? You are guided by compaſſion for the immediate ſufferers, whoſe tyranny you have forgotten, and your compaſſion for the people has been effaced, by thoſe exceſſes their former ſufferings have impelled them to commit. You have confounded deſpotiſm with the good natured man who nominally filled its place, and in his unmerited death, you have de-

* When popular diſcontents have been very prevalent, it may well be affirmed, and ſupported, that there has been generally ſomething found amiſs in the conſtitution, or in the conduct of the government; the people have no intereſt in diſorder, when they do wrong, it is their error not their crime. But with the governing part it is far otherwiſe; they certainly may act ill by deſign, as well as by miſtake. (Burke's Thoughts on the preſent (1770) Diſcontents. Judge of the conſtitution or of the conduct of the governors, in ſiſter kingdoms, by theſe wiſe maxims, where the people have been in diſorder theſe fifty years.

plored the extinction of deſpotiſm itſelf; your minds have been filled with compaſſion for exiled princes and nobles, hurled from a ſtate of affluence and power, to a ſtate of indigence and nullity, bewailing their friends and relatives, whoſe blood has been ſhed by the loweſt and baſeſt of the populace; you ſee hereditary monarchy and ariſtocracy in the amiable light of ſuffering adverſity, and unbridled democracy in all the deformity of rage and revenge: Infatuated people! why will you be guided by effects, and by wilfully miſtaking them for cauſes, ruſh into that anarchy you deplore? If your compaſſion and your fears muſt guide you at this great criſis, which calls for the whole exertion of your unbiaſſed reaſon, let it not be compaſſion for the immediate ſufferers only; let not your fears be confined to democracy which has been acted on, regardleſs of monarchy and ariſtocracy by which it has been impelled. Extend your thoughts to the millions, whoſe haggard looks beſpeak how long they have been the ſport of the joint deſpotiſm of monarchy and ariſtocracy; count how many thouſands have been condemned to ſlavery and the gallies, for endeavouring to evade taxes ſpent in adminiſtering to the pleaſures of a minion or a miſtreſs, who but muſt feel the clinking and the gallings of their chains? See how many have expiated crimes on the gibbet or the rack, their poverty alone impelled them to commit, and lay that poverty and thoſe crimes at their doors, by whoſe extravagance they were occaſioned; and when you charge a miſguided and a goaded people with the blood they

have ſhed, call to mind the blood and the devaſtation * of thoſe inteſtine wars between Kings and Nobles, in which the happineſs or liberty of mankind had no concern; on one ſide behold myriads degraded to the condition of brutes, and beneath them in their ſufferings; and on the other, ſee the inſolence, and extravagance to which they have been made to contribute. Conceive the foulneſs of the ſtream of juſtice flowing from ſuch a ſource: conceive what bitter drafts muſt they have taken to whom purer were forbidden; place before your eyes the huſband, hurried to a dungeon, that ſome worthleſs noble may riot on the ruin of his domeſtic happineſs: and if any pander of power ſhould attempt to paliate by its infrequency, calculate the ſufferings of others, leaſt a ſimilar fate may await them; do not let the tax-gatheres, the intendants, and the farmers-general eſcape you, with the corvé, the taille,

* Whilſt Kings armed againſt each other ravaged the earth, already laid waſt eby other ſcourges, Vincent de Paul, the ſon of an huſbandman, repaired the public calamities, and diſtributed more than twenty millions of livres in Champaign, in Picardy, in Loraine, in Artois, when the inhabitants of whole villages were dying through want, and were afterwards left in the fields without burial, until he undertook to defray the expences of interment. He diſcharged for ſome time an office of zeal and charity towards the gallies: he ſaw one day a wretched galley-ſlave, who had been doomed to three years impriſonment for ſmuggling, and who appeared inconſolable on account of his wife and children having been left in the greateſt diſtreſs; Vincent de Paul, afflicted with his ſituation, offered to put himſelf in his ſtead; and what doubtleſs will ſcarcely be credited, the exchange was accepted. This virtuous man was chained amongſt the crew of galley-ſlaves, and his feet continued to be ſwollen during the remainder of his life, from the weight of thoſe honorable irons he had worn. Abbè Mawry.

the aides, the traites, the vingtiemes, the demaine, the farm of tabacco, the capitation, and the gabelle, thoſe agents and inſtruments of arbitrary power, and thoſe ſcourges of the human race, as inſolent and tyrannical to the people, as they are ſervile and ſubmiſſive to their oppreſſors. Theſe were the ſufferings to which the nobility conſigned their vaſſals, whilſt they were immerſed in the vices of the capital, or attending on the court in ſearch of ſpoil wreſted from the hard hand of the peaſant; think of theſe grievances *, and ceaſe your aſtoniſhment that the ſufferers ſhould have become frantic. Ceaſe your aſtoniſhment, that men who had groaned ſo long under the laſh of monarchy and nobility ſhould retaliate. Gracious God! was democracy any part of the old French government, which occaſioned this Re-

* The murder of a Seigneur, or a Chateau in flames, is recorded in every newſpaper, the rank of the perſon who ſuffers attracts notice; but when do we find the regiſter of that Seigneur's oppreſſion of his tenantry, and his exactions of feudal ſervices from thoſe whoſe children were dying around him for want of food? when do we find the minutes that aſſigned theſe ſtarving wretches to ſome vile pettyfoggers, to be fleeced by impoſitions and a mockery of juſtice in the ſeigneural courts? who gives us the awards of the intendants, and his ſub-deliguis, which took off the taxes of a man of faſhion, and laid them with accumulated weight on the poor, who were ſo unfortunate as to be his neighbour? who has dwelt ſufficiently on explaining all the ramifications of deſpotiſm, regal, ariſtocratical, and eccleſiaſtical, pervading the whole maſs of the people and acting like a circulating fluid the moſt diſtant capillary tubes of poverty and wretchedneſs? In theſe caſes the ſufferers are too ignoble to be known, and the maſs too indiſcriminate to be pitied. But ſhould a philoſopher reaſon thus? ſhould he miſtake the cauſe for the effect? and giving all his pity to the few, feel no compaſſion for the many, becauſe they ſuffer in his eyes, not indiſcriminately, but by millions?

Arthur Young's Tour through France.

volution;

volution; that Pruſſians, Auſtrians, and Ruſſians ſhould have fallen into this error, does not ſurprize me, but that you, who owe your freedom to your government's being placed on the baſis of repreſentative democracy, ſhould join in the out-cry againſt your beſt benefactor, merits the moſt ſevere reprehenſion. Is it to monarchy England owes her liberty? If ſo, why are the Ruſſians, the Danes, the Swedes, the Auſtrians, the Pruſſians, the Neapolitans, the Spaniards, the Turks, the Africans, and the Portugueſe in ſlavery? for they have kings as well as you. Is it to nobility England owes her freedom? if ſo, why are not thoſe nations I have enumerated free? for they have nobility as well as you. Let theſe facts arreſt your fears and your infatuation, for from the creation of man it has been the invariable characterſtic of hereditary kings and nobles to abuſe power, whether delegated, or uſurped. Is it becauſe George the third is a better man in England than he is in Hanover, that thoſe of one country are free and the others not? Is it becauſe the King of England is a better man than the King of Spain, that the Engliſh are free, and that the Spaniards are ſlaves? Is it becauſe the nobility of England diſlike the independance, or what by that claſs of men may be termed the ſturdineſs, or the inſolence of the people leſs, than the nobility of Spain, that they reſpect their rights, their perſons, their feelings, and their properties more? No, it is becauſe the Engliſh have maintained their repreſentative democracy, that they have maintained their freedom, and it is becauſe the Spaniards have ſuffered their Cortes, their repreſenta-

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tive democracy to be anihilated, that their freedom has been aboliſhed; If the Spaniards, who but two centuries back, held the firſt rank amongſt nations, now rank amongſt the laſt, by fighting againſt religious opinions at home and abroad, why may not England meet a like fate, by fighting againſt political opinions here and in other countries? Is it becauſe the freedom of political opinions are leſs connected with free government, then the freedom of religious ones, that you ſhould think yourſelves ſecure? Domination and tyranny over our inferiors, are paſſions inſtilled into us by our Creator, which as they cannot be eradicated, muſt be reſtricted, and yet it is thoſe reſtrictions you would break down, or ſuffer to be weakened, barriers, which your anceſtors ſet up againſt the abuſes of hereditary monarchy and ariſtocracy, cemented with the beſt blood of England; gazing at the efforts of others to imitate or to ſurpaſs you in erecting barriers againſt arbitrary power, you are affrighted at the effuſion of blood your anceſtors have ſhed ſo profuſely in a ſimilar attempt, but becauſe far more cruel grievances have provoked far more cruel retaliation; you deny the ſimilitude. What is the leſſon a wiſe people would learn from the French Revolution? Should it teach them to increaſe the power of monarchy, and tamely to ſuffer their repreſentative democracy to be added to the ſtrength and numbers of chartered ariſtocracy? and having done ſo, is it certain they will have adopted thoſe meaſures which will beſt enſure the people from oppreſſion, and conſequently from provocation to revolt? No. This is the direct road to ruin; this is the moſt certain courſe,

by

by which this country can be led to that ſtate of pillage and murder which now deſolates and depopulates France, unleſs this admonition, this weakly voice of reaſon can be heard amidſt the infatuation your fears have occaſioned.

You have deceived yourſelves by dating your liberties too far back. In the reign of Charles the firſt, and thoſe of his predeceſſors, England wanted the great characteriſtics of a free nation; neither opinions, nor perſons, nor property, were ſecure from arbitrary power; laws were not the only government; the will of the Prince, when proclaimed, ſuperceded the law; to reduce this power, and to place an unſurmountable barrier between it and their liberties, did your anceſtors expend their blood and treaſure, and although from knowledge and education not being ſufficiently general, the nation fell a temporary prey to a tyranny as bad as that they fought to eſcape: yet at the Reſtoration they had not loſt ground in the ſtruggle for liberty. So excellent a guardian is Repreſentative Democracy, that it defeated the efforts of a worthleſs unprincipled king, though aided by the intrigues and treaſure of a neighbouring deſpot, to ſubvert their liberties, and to eſtabliſh abſolute government on their ruins, and in the ſucceeding reign, aſſiſted by the want of prudence in another, would be deſpotic, and impatient to change their government. England eſtabliſhed her freedom beyond the reach of open arbitrary force, and aſſailable only to the treachery of her own repreſentatives. Down to that period never had the repreſentations of the people been enliſted under the regular banners of the Court,

they

they were choſen by the people, (for at that time boroughs were not monopolized in the hands of a few in truſt for individual families) to watch and to controul thoſe on whom the execution of the laws might have devolved, and although they might have been occaſionally intimidated by arbitrary impriſonment, or a few might have been bribed for a particular queſtion, yet, heretofore, they partook of the ſame ſpirit, and the ſame intereſt with the people. If the people were ſufferers, their repreſentatives ſuffered with them; if the people were pillaged, their repreſentatives had no ſhare in the ſpoil. Heretofore parliaments were popular, and enjoyed the confidence of the people, becauſe by their incorruptible perſeverance they had obtained every ſecurity for civil liberty, which the moſt expreſs ſtipulations could enſure: ſtipulations which had been written with the blood of one king, and confirmed by the dethronement of another, for attempting to annul them. No wonder your anceſtors ſhould not have provided againſt the abandonment of repreſentative they had found faithful for ages; they could not have imagined that the barriers which had withſtood the rudeſt aſſaults of arbitrary power, was to be ſapped with ſucceſs; they did not calculate, that the workings of power, when reſtrained, was like the efforts of fluid, exerting itſelf moſt when moſt confined, and as this diſcovery was left for their deſcendants to make, ſo alſo to them was left the neceſſity of providing againſt the evil it contains. In 1688, for *the firſt time*, they obtained perfect ſecurity for their perſons, their opinions, and their properties; in a word, perfect liberty: they bequeathed it to

you

you in a citadel built and protected by guardians hitherto incorruptible, raiſed by their labour, and cemented with their blood. Let me conjure you to mark this important change in your conſtitution: obſerve with what obſtinacy the Commons refuſed to ſupply the extravagances of the Crown, down to 1688, whilſt the honour of the nation and the dignity of the monarch was dinned by the ſervants of the crown, in the ears of the ſervants of the people, they never loſt ſight of the intereſt of thoſe they repreſented; they contraſted what was termed maintaining the honour of the nation, with the conſequent calamities of the people; they contraſted what was called ſupporting the dignity of the monarch, with the conſequent poverty and burdens of the ſubject. They had diſcovered, that as the right of levying the people's money had enabled them to gain their freedom, by the ſame means it was to be preſerved, and they gave it with a ſparing hand. Actuated by theſe generous ſentiments, they expended their blood and treaſure for their deſcendants, but they knew not the right of exiſting generations, to mortgage the produce of the earth, or the light of the heavens, entailing poverty on the unborn. Nay, ſo ſacred was this right in the eyes of your anceſtors, that it was eaſier for Louis the 14th to exact wherewith from his ſubjects, who had no repreſentative democracy, to ſupport the extravagance of his own court; and that of Charles the Second, than it was for Charles to prevail on the repreſentatives to burden the people, to ſupport the profuſion of his own court alone. Theſe were the principles which actuated the repreſentative democracy of

England

England down to 1688; from that day this glorious principle has been loſt; from the day that hereditary, reduced to the controul of delegated power, was effectually reſtricted from doing violence to the perſons, opinions, and property of the people; from that day theſe natural opponents have been united, and the repreſentatives of the people come to participate in that power it had been their province to controul. Now they chooſe a leader, who in the humble ſtation of ſervant of the Crown, has become inveſted with all its power; he plans new ſchemes for freſh burdens, which he expends, chooſing thoſe who ſupport his party to fill the place of profit and honour. Formerly the ſparing grants of the commons were ſo much leſs an object of thanks, than their controul was of deteſtation, that if the Crown was laviſh, the repreſentatives of the people were the laſt likely to ſhare in the diſtribution. Now nothing is obtained but by parliamentary influence; and ſo exactly is this reduced to a rule, that in proportion as individual families have poſſeſſed themſelves of the people's power, in an exact proportion do they expect a ſhare of the people's money. Influence, as it is termed by the courtiers, and corruption, as it is called by the people, has, ſince the union of the Commons and the Crown, become the acknowledged ſpring of the Engliſh government, not like the pelican feeding its young with its vital blood, but like unnatural monſters fattening on the blood of thoſe, whom duty ordained they ſhould foſter and protect. Already you behold them alarmed at that ſickly hue which may rob them of their prey; already

already they begin to dread the fever which is the laſt effort of expiring nature, under the malady the too unequal ſtate of man has occaſioned. Has England changed her repreſentatives for a chartered ariſtocracy? If ſhe has, ſhe may throw her two houſes into one; they would be equally hereditary, equally ariſtocratical, and equally repreſentatives of the people: if you would not ſhut your eyes on the facts your new government ſince 1688 preſent, you muſt be convinced it is the head eating into the bowels, which muſt lead to a ſpeedy diſſolution: I will detail it.

In 1688 England owed nothing	000,000	000,000,000
From 1688 to 1697 her repreſentatives contracted a debt of		21,515,742
From 1697 to 1701 they reduced it - - - - - - -	5,121,041	
From 1701 to 1714 it was encreaſed - - - - - - -		37,286,375
From 1714 to 1722 it was farther increaſed - - - -		1,601,902
From 1722 to 1739 it was reduced - - - - - - - -	8,328,354	
From 1739 to 1748 it was increaſed - - - - - - -		31,338,689
From 1748 to 1755 it was reduced - - - - - - -	6,003,640	
From 1765 to 1764 it was increaſed - - - - - - -		67,227,134
From 1764 to 1775 it was reduced - - - - - - - -	10,415,474	
From 1775 to 1783 it was increaſed - - - - - - -		137,608,881
Total debt contracted from 1688 to 1783 - - - - - - -		296,578,723
Total paid off from 1688 to 1783	29,868,509	
Balance of debt contracted from 1688 to 1783 - - - -		266,710,214

This

This was the ſtate of the national debt when the preſent miniſter came under the throne; and how far it has been reduced by his exertions, or how far it may not be encreaſed by this war, ſo as to give you a well founded hope, or any hope, that a debt which has accumulated thus gradually and uniformly, ſhould ceaſe to accumulate but with an alteration in the ſyſtem under which it has arrived at its preſent enormity, *is for you to determine.* Theſe are ſtubborn facts, which ſtare you in the face; it is your duty, it is the duty of the Engliſh nation to inveſtigate them with that temper and reſolution, which only can avert calamities otherwiſe inevitable. As well may you imagine that the heavenly bodies will change their accuſtomed motion, as long as they are governed by the laws of gravitation and centrifugal force, as that England can become retrograde to her preſent progreſs in encreaſing debt, ſo long as ſhe moves under her preſent government, unaltered, unamended. If this reaſoning wants the confirmation of other authority, founded on the experience of another country, look to Ireland. From the day that nation took the power of making her laws out of the hands of the Crown, and the Britiſh Legiſlature, to place it in what is termed her repreſentatives, from that moment the government has had recourſe to corruption, or influence, and a rapid increaſe of debt and taxes have been the conſequence, both which, within the ſpace of twelve years, have been nearly quadrupled; and as the ſtate of repreſentation is worſe in that country, and the want of any thing like public principle, infinitely greater than in this, it

has taken their govenment leſs time to goad that miſerable people to that pitch of deſpair, which even her preſent monſtrous military eſtabliſhment cannot prevent from breaking out in every part of that ill fated country.

From the year 1169, that is, from the firſt landing of the Welch, to the year 1760, the nation went on without debt; their government was performed by contract with the leading faction of the day, ſo that the people of Kamſchatka may as well be ſaid to have lived under the Britiſh conſtitution, as the Iriſh, during this long period; but from 1760, when even the ſhadow of their repreſentative democracy began to act, corruption was employed, debt began, and with it, taxes increaſed; ſlowly down to 1782, as long as the controul of the Britiſh legiſlature rendered it leſs neceſſary to influence in the true conſtitutional way; moſt rapidly ſince: I will detail it.

In 1760 the Iriſh nation owed nothing - - - - - - -	000,000,	000,000,000
From 1760 to 1782 her repreſentatives contracted a debt of		1,067,565
From 1782 to 1794 incluſive, they contracted a debt of -		3,076,759
Total of her preſent debt -		4,154,324
In 1760 her taxes amounted annually to - - - - - - -	578,877	
At this day they amount annually to - - - - - - -	1,831,266	

If this detail of facts will not convince you, that the ſtate

ſtate of your repreſentation, and that of the people of Ireland, is conſtituted with ſufficient power to involve you in debt, which muſt be your ruin, without ſufficient energy to make an effort which can ſave you, "you will not believe though one were to riſe from the dead."

England is called a mixed government, but it is a mixture in which the force and quantity of the ingredients have been wonderfully changed; it is a mixture in which monarchy and ariſtocracy have become powerfully prevalent, and repreſentative democracy has become a feeble ingredient. The uniform property of the two former is to contract power from the controul of the many, to the government of the few, and whilſt they would monopolize all power, they would monopolize alſo all thoſe qualities neceſſary to exerciſe it; they would make it a family property, as if nature had placed ſome diſcriminating marks on them and their heirs for ever. Monopoly and excluſion are their motto, and ſlaves their ſupporters; and in proportion as they have been able to eſtabliſh them, in an exact proportion, does the uniform teſtimony of the annals of the world repreſent mankind degraded and debaſed. It is thoſe monopolizing and excluſionary principles which have almoſt annihilated your repreſentative democracy: it is the gradual operation of thoſe principles which has converted your houſe of repreſentatives into an aſſembly of chartered ariſtocracy. That theſe are qualities inherent in hereditary monarchy and ariſtocracy no one can refute; that they were controuled by repreſentative democracy, as long as it was oppoſed to

them, and before its alliance with them, the advantages gained, and the parſimony which prevailed, indiſputably confirm; for the parſimony which was inſeparable from the Engliſh government before the Revolution of 1688, is as juſt a barometer to denote the weight of repreſentative democracy at that time, as the profuſion which prevails is to eſtimate the preponderacy of hereditary and chartered power ſince. If this reaſoning is confirmed by what has paſſed in other countries, and in your own, why will you neglect that part of the government which contains the only antidote yet diſcovered againſt the diſeaſes of arbitrary power? Why will you augment and ſtrengthen thoſe parts which it is allowed engender the poiſon? What but the groſſeſt infatuation could drive you into a courſe of ſuch certain ruin, when the progreſs of Revolution was paſſing before your eyes? Are you reſolved not to ſee, that the abuſes of hereditary and chartered power begot oppreſſion, and that oppreſſion begets Revolution?

Now that I have placed your real ſituation before you, let me explain the cauſe of this ruinous war. The ancients had made ſome progreſs in political enquiry; but the invention of the mariner's compaſs, and the art of printing, have given us ſuch advantages, as are ſcarcely to be calculated, which are now beginning to operate, as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter. From the deſtruction of the Roman Empire, the human mind in Europe had remained in a ſtate of torpor, as to the important enquiry of how mankind may be beſt governed in this world, which was made ſubſervient to the diſcuſſion of metaphyſical nonſenſe, by which the

doctrine

doctrine was inculcated, of ſacrificing the happineſs of mankind here, to enſure their eternal happineſs hereafter. Never before the French Revolution did the human mind, unſhackled, exert ſuch ability and zeal in enquiring how man may be beſt governed. Inſtitutions were canvaſſed, and their merits apreciated by their utility; not by the time they had exiſted, whereby many, that until then, had been held ſacred, were ſtripped of the veil which concealed that deformity, imagination had repreſented of the firſt order of beauty, and the French court, which had held the firſt rank amongſt nations, when thrown open to public view, exhibited a picture of folly, of fineſſe, of weakneſs, and of extravagance. The Sanctum Sanctorum, the Holy of Holies was thrown wide open, and the curious multitude could not but obſerve, how little it contained, and how much they had been deceived. The Auſtrian and Pruſſian Courts were alarmed, not for the Court of France, or the emigrated nobles, whom they execrated, and whom they ill uſed, but for themſelves; it was from a principle of ſelf preſervation, they endeavoured to entice, or to bully the reſt of the deſpotic Courts of Europe, to take part in what they thought * a common cauſe; and ſo inveterate is tyranny and plunder in thoſe military deſpots, that the inſtant they were, as they thought, fighting in ſupport of their own

* The iſſue will determine which, thoſe courts who have taken this opportunity to enrich their ſubjects by commerce, and to alleviate their burdens by peace, or thoſe who have impoveriſhed them by expoſing their commerce to interruption, and added to their taxes by war, will have adopted the beſt remedy againſt Revolution.

deſpotiſm, againſt the freedom of their ſubjects and of mankind, they determined their charges ſhould be borne by plunder. With this view the treaty of Pilnitz was framed, whereby it was agreed to pillage the very court they affected to interfere to reſtore to its ancient ſplendor and deſpotiſm. *And as to the happineſs of the people of France*, which thoſe German Princes pretended to have at heart, if any man in England is weak enough to expect the freedom of ſubjects from the free gift of a court, let him read the diſcordant preſcriptions of thoſe Royal Doctors, in their ſeveral declarations and manifeſtos; let them contraſt what they have done, and let be done in Poland, with what they ſay they would do in France, *if in their power*; read the declaration of the Duke of Brunſwick, before his entry into France, in which he ſays all Frenchmen, not in a hoſtile ſituation, or that emigrate, though they ſhould not wiſh to join the armaments againſt France, ſhall not only not be moleſted, but that they ſhall be protected. Yet, ſo far from protecting the gallant La Fayette, they have immurred him in a dungeon, to brood over his own cruel, unmerited fate, over the loſs and ſufferings of his friends, and the ruin and diſtraction of his beloved country. In their arreſt of this illuſtrious ſufferer, they have ſhewn their contempt for the laws of nations, and in their unexampled barbarity, they have ſhewn a contempt of the laws of honour and of truth. Who but muſt feel for ſuch miſery? Whoſe blood is ſo cold that will not glow with indignation againſt the tyrants, by whom it has been inflicted? You will ſay,

How

How does this apply to us? Were we ſlaves, that the Court of England ſhould join in alliances formed on ſuch baſe principles? No; you were free, but men muſt be blind, and devoid of the powers of ſimple calculation, not to diſcern with what rapid ſtrides your freedom haſtens to a concluſion. Thoſe in England, who profeſſed hereditary and chartered power, ſaw this, and dreaded the conſequences; they ſaw from the year 1789, that the abuſes of power, and the conſequent burthens which led to a Revolution in France, would lead to another in England. Yet what did common ſenſe point out their conduct ſhould have been? What moral ſhould they have drawn from the great example paſſing under their eyes? Was it to add to the burdens of an already tottering people, by plunging them into a war, of which the expence and the continuance was alike uncalculable? The ſtupidity of infatuation alone could have adopted meaſures ſo fraught with ruin. If the pillage of the power, which was and ought to belong to the people, had called aloud for reſtitution, by the miſery and diſtreſs the robbery had occaſioned, it ſhould have been reſtored; if Engliſhmen, diſguſted with the corruption and extravagance of their government, had gone in queſt of comfort and happineſs abroad, amendment at home was the true reſtorative of Engliſh affection for Engliſh government. Why then has Government ſcouted every idea of amendment? Why have they made the very pillars of the conſtitution totter, by the weights they have laid on them to hide its defects? Leaſt if they had given up that portion of the chartered and

hereditary power, which had been delegated, repreſentative, and the people's, the machinery would have been leſs profitable to the preſent movers. I have ſhewn, that ſince the Revolution of 1688, the government has been totally changed; the monarchy at that time changed its baſis; inſtead of being ſupported by its own arbitrary acts, it came to be ſupported at a prodigious expence; no leſs than that of levying on the whole of thoſe who were to obey the laws, ſufficient to influence or corrupt a majority of thoſe who were to make them, by which change, the increaſing burdens of the people were become the increaſing ſtrength to the monarchy, more profitable to the hereditary and chartered ariſtocracy, and the utter annihilation of the repreſentative democracy; ſo that to *lighten* the burdens of the people, was to *weaken* the monarchy, and to *leſſen* the profits of the ariſtocracy.—Hence, the commencement of the French Revolution, which diffuſed ſuch general joy amidſt the people of England, in the hope that it would lead to an alleviation of their burdens, by deſtroying abuſes, ſpread an univerſal gloom over thoſe who poſſeſſed hereditary and chartered power, leſt it might endanger its exiſtence, or diminiſh their profits; yet ſo manifeſt and ſo general was this joy of the people, the Court could not venture to form alliances with the military deſpots of the continent; but the miniſter, who is famous for leading you, by appearing to follow you, watched for an opportunity to work your converſion to the views of the Court, and he found it in thoſe exceſſes he has himſelf been charged with fomenting, but which can be accounted for without

out his aſſiſtance. The French Court and nobility which originally goaded the people to make a Revolution, forced them alſo, aided by the movements and the threats contained in the whifling, irritating manifeſtos of the military deſpots, to the commiſſion of thoſe exceſſes and cruelties which have marked its progreſs ſince the tenth of Auguſt 1792.

Engliſhmen, ſuppoſe yourſelves in the ſituation of the people of France, reſtored to freedom from abject ſlavery and oppreſſion, by a Revolution, for its magnitude, unexampled for its mildneſs, and the little blood it has cauſed to be ſhed. Figure to yourſelves what an enchanting proſpect ſuch a Revolution muſt have appeared in the eyes of a new people! Figure to yourſelves what muſt have been their feelings leſt they ſhould have been bereaved of it for ever, to be chained down to thoſe gallies from whence they had broken, to be remanded to thoſe dungeons they had burſt open, to be conſigned to a re-endurance of that tyranny, oppreſſion, and poverty, they had eſcaped. Conceive what muſt have been their reſentment againſt the court and the nobles, by whoſe ſecret workings ſuch a counter-revolution had been attempted. Whom, in thoſe anxious moments of agitation, were they to credit? Was it the Ex-Princes, the Ex-Nobles, and the Courts of Auſtria and Pruſſia, who declared that the Court of France was not ſincere in the oaths and declarations it had taken? Or were they to credit the French Court, which, while it proteſted its ſincerity, ſeemed to corroborate the aſſertions of the Ex-Princes, by attempting to join them? Do not flatter yourſelves that in ſimilar circum-

circumſtances, a like jealouſy would not have actuated you, or that, inſtigated by that furious paſſion, it would not have impelled you to the commiſſion of ſimilar exceſſes. Conſider, that theſe provocations, and theſe agonizing alarms, had taken place before the tenth of Auguſt 1792; that from the commencement of the Revolution to that day, the privileged orders had been buſily employed in re-eſtabliſhing deſpotiſm by every means, that internal treachery or external force could effect. Conſider how little it availed, that the King was an eaſy good-natured man, when it was known he never gave his confidence to any * who were ſincerely attached to the Revolution; that the Queen and her confidents would have gone any lengths to deſtroy it. Let any man in England read the manifeſtos of the Duke of Brunſwick, publiſhed on his invaſion of France. Let him ſuppoſe them written by the general of an army, compoſed of the mercenaries of military deſpots, interfering with the internal government of England, without one ſingle act of hoſtility to provoke it. What would be his reſentment againſt the court he was aſſured had invited them? What his rage againſt his own countrymen he ſuſpected of ſeconding their deſign?—I write not to vindicate the crimes of France, but to trace them to their real authors; and I do ſo, to diſpel that infatuation which has led you to ſanctify the abuſes of your conſtitution, that you may ſee that the miſeries of France have ariſen from the want of repreſentative democracy to controul its hereditary monar-

* Not even to the virtuous La Fayette, his preſent ſufferings confirm it.

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chy and nobility, and that whatever hazards England undergoes of meeting ſimilar diſaſters, ariſe from its democracy not being *ſufficiently repreſented* to effect an equally *neceſſary controul.*

Thus far have I traced the cauſe of your preſent dangerous condition, without adverting to that infatuation which has pervaded all men of property, and induced them to become dupes to the miniſter and the court, from conviction, *that by war only property was to be ſecured*; which nothing but that fear, which contracts and palſies the human mind could have ſuggeſted. To this falſe and abſurd notion, I anſwer, it is not the French Revolution which has rendered property inſecure. There has been a Revolution in civil ſociety throughout all Europe, of which the French Revolution is but a part; which, when conſidered, will demonſtrate, *that the monopolizing and excluſionary ſyſtem is no longer feaſible.*

Hitherto I have confined myſelf to tracing the cauſe of the French Revolution, and of ſhewing you that by miſtaking effects for cauſes you were ruſhing into a ſimilar ſituation. But in developing this Revolution, which has taken place in civil ſociety, I ſhall explain the cauſe why the people of France have been able to make a Revolution, which with the ſame provocation they had in vain attempted for ages.

In the firſt, the ſavage ſtate, *all men are perfectly equal*, every man has the ſame occupation, that of providing ſubſiſtence for himſelf, and his family; and as no man can procure more than will anſwer thoſe purpoſes, property cannot exiſt, conſequently, arriſtocracy is,

is, by phyſical neceſſity, excluded from this ſtate of man. *The firſt Revolution in civil ſociety* is from the ſavage ſtate, to the ſtate of ſhepherds and huſbandmen. I join thoſe two ſtates, for though they differ in many reſpects, yet, in nothing that concerns this enquiry); when you have paſt into theſe ſtates, you will have arrived at that middle ſtate of ſociety, in which hereditary arriſtocracy is in its utmoſt power. In this ſtate, the labour of the people produces more than will maintain the working part in ſubſiſtence, and in neceſſaries, which calls forth domination and tyranny, with their attendants, monopoly and excluſion: the people are ignorant and ſluggiſh for want of that intercourſe, and colliſion, by which man ſtrikes from man, thoſe ſparks by which his mind is enlightened, and his blood is warmed; no roads, no canals, no uſe made of the ſeas, or of the navigable rivers, the whole country is divided into diſtricts, each has its deſpot, in whoſe eyes the reſt of his ſpecies are confounded with the beaſts of the ſame field he allots them. The produce of his lands, as he cannot exchange it or lay it by, he employs in feeding as many as it will maintain, who thereby become his ſlaves and followers; his will is the only law which can obtain, becauſe it is the only law which has ſufficient ſtrength to enforce it. Every diſtrict is a ſeperate monarchy, which exiſt but by its comparative ſtrength with other diſtricts: hence the monopolizing laws of primogeniture and entail are created, and cannot be diſpenſed with, but at the riſque of being ſubject to the neighbouring diſtrict, which has been kept entire; the people from their ignorance

norance can conceive nothing, that is not immediately before their eyes, and can do nothing, they have not ſeen done before. They ſubmit to their degraded condition, becauſe their want of knowledge incapacitates them from conceiving a remedy, and their want of combination and of energy from executing it; lands are the only material induſtry has to work on; their poſſeſſion is the ſole ſource of conſequence, and habit is the only rule, by which a degraded and debaſed people are directed. Their minds are ſtupified into unconditional attatchment to the perſon and family of a deſpot, and inacceſſible to the moſt diſtant ideas of the rights of mankind. HERE ARISTOCRACY WAS YOUR DAY OF TRIUMPH! HERE HUMAN NATURE WAS YOUR DAY OF DEGRADATION! Thanks be to God they are gone by, the invention of the mariners compaſs has introduced knowledge, and independence, and their progreſs has been accelerated by the art of printing. Theſe are the parents of that Revolution in civil ſociety which has led the mind to meaſure inſtitutions by the ſtandard of utility, and to ſpurn thoſe which have no better title than accident, uſurpation, or caprice to uphold them. It is this Revolution which has led the mind to queſtion, by what marks of general utility, the Creator of the world has declared it his will, that laws ſhould exiſt, whereby the earth ſhould be held in perpetual monopoly by a few in the place of laws of equal deſcent, and of more general diſtribution. I need not ſtate I mean the laws which regulate the deſcent of property, not to juſtify the violation of it. *This is the Revolution* which is now operating; it

is

is from the ſtate of ſhepherds and huſbandmen to the more active ſtate of commerce. Europe has not only paſt into the commercial ſtate, but moſt parts have begun to feel its influence. Commerce has introduced, not only new claſſes of men into ſociety, but it has altered the condition of thoſe who were in it before. It has introduced merchants, factors, and manufacturers, who have reſcued the people from ſlavery, in which the deſpotiſm of hereditary ariſtocracy had held them, by the ſimple operation of furniſhing them with luxuries in exchange for the groſs produce of their lands, formerly expended amongſt their followers and vaſſals, by which hereditary ariſtocracy has fallen, from commanding thouſands of ſlaves and villians, whoſe lives and ſervices were at their abſolute diſpoſal, to the command of a few worthleſs paraſites and inſolent lackeys.

As long as nobility confined its reſidence to the country, the dependence, which the expenditure of their fortunes amongſt the neighbouring tenantry occaſioned, in ſome meaſure, upheld them from ſinking under the rival power, wealth and independence of the merchants and manufacturers of the towns; but the ſame vanity which originally led them to exchange their vaſſals for lackeys, led them to give the preference to the refinements of the capital, and the contempt for the citizen was exchanged for the contempt of the clown; by which the laſt prop of hereditary ariſtocracy has tottered, and the tenantry have become as indifferent about them in their abſence, as the tradeſmen have received them in their conſtant reſidence amongſt them.

In

In the country, the expenditure of wealth occaſions more dependence, becauſe no third perſon intervenes between the buyer and the ſeller, the employer and thoſe employed, than in the towns, where the tradeſman, when paid his wages by the factor for his work, neither knows nor cares by whom it will be bought or conſumed. In the commercial ſtate, wealth comes to be the ſole mover, and the reſpect for a family that uſed to do ſo much, comes to be able to do ſcarcely any thing. The frequency, and the univerſality with which fortunes are acquired in a commercial country, takes away the great reſpect that uſed to be paid to the perſons and families of rich men, ſo that the man of yeſterday will command the ſervices of as many, as far as his wealth goes, as a man who can trace riches in his family for a century.

But beſides the difficulty which ariſes of keeping up a monopoly of landed property in a commercial ſtate, by the forced laws of primogeniture and intail, there is a phyſical impoſſibility of its exiſtence. In a ſtate compoſed of nobles, their idle retainers and vaſſals, the population cannot exceed a number that will be diſtreſſed for food, the firſt and moſt preſſing neceſſary of life, becauſe almoſt the whole productive labour is expended in farming, and the ſurplus produce over what will maintain the labourers is infinitely greater in agriculture than it is in any other kind of productive induſtry. But when manufacturers, a new and productive claſs, come to be added to the population, the *difficulty* of providing food for thoſe additional numbers, makes it neceſſary, as population increaſes, to diminiſh the number

ber of drones, and the number of thoſe who cauſe others to be drones alſo; it becomes neceſſary to leſſen the number of thoſe who do nothing towards feeding themſelves, in order that the numbers who do, may be increaſed.

It would lead me too far away at preſent to explain, HOW a nation in a ſtate of half-ſtocked ſcanty population will endure a ſyſtem founded on injuſtice, on monopoly, and on forced inequality, without feeling thoſe intolerable effects which refult from it in a ſtate of full ſtocked teeming population. How from the ſtrength of the paſſion which leads to procreation, population will increaſe under all the checks it receives from wars, peſtilence, and occaſional famine. How population can be effectually checked only by its having arrived at that full ſtocked population, for whoſe ſubſiſtence, under its *exiſting laws*, it can barely provide food at home, and which the approximation of the neighbouring nations to a like condition prevents* her from receiving from abroad. How the quantity of food the induſtry of a people can produce is reſtricted by their *exiſting laws*. What dreadful miſeries a people muſt ſuffer in their progreſs to that ſtate, where population comes to be checked. And with what fury they will attack thoſe *exiſting laws*, and thoſe who ſupport them, by

* I have ſaid nothing of the ſhock a manufacturing country muſt receive, when, inſtead of exporting corn to a conſiderable amount, ſhe is obliged to import it; nor of, how this is in a great meaſure occaſioned by the demand for pleaſure grounds, and of paſture grounds, to accommodate the growing number of men of fortune, who, if it was not for the monopolizing laws, would be men of buſineſs and of induſtry.

which

which they are not only ſtinted themſelves, but made to ſee their children periſh for want of food. Suffice it to obſerve, that as ſociety approaches this condition, thoſe eſtabliſhments which lay heavy burdens on the people; thoſe eſtabliſhments which lead to indolence, in an exact proportion to the exorbitancy of the expence, by which they are ſupported, muſt give way, by an irreſiſtible neceſſity, to eſtabliſhments more uſeful, and leſs expenſive. What is called the dignitaries of religious orders, whoſe immenſe ſalaries place them above the diſcharge of religious duty, muſt be ſet aſide, and the functions which the indolence of the high-paid clergy has conſigned to the poorer and more active, will be continued in thoſe hands which have *really*, not *nominally*, laboured in the vineyard. The courtiers muſt quit their diſgraceful occupation, and inſtead of being provided for at the expence of the poor, and the induſtrious, for a mean direliction of their own freedom of opinion, and of the rights, and intereſt of the people to their magiſtrates, they muſt bear their ſhare in that induſtry, which is become to all an indiſpenſible duty.

The laws * muſt ceaſe to be conſtructed ſo as to give employment to ſuch ſwarms of clerks and advocates, from their being involved in the labyrinths of fiction, called their glorious uncertainty; they muſt be reduced to the greateſt ſimplicity and to the greateſt certainty, by aſcertaining what is termed the unwritten law, and

* An attempt to ſtrain the feudal laws, which obtained in times of uſurpation and deſpotiſm, to make them anſwer by fictions, ſo as to apply to the preſent times, is the principle cauſe of their complexedneſs, and of the exorbitancy of the expence of aſcertaining property.

when the abſurdity comes to be ſeen, of attempting to leſſen the expence of law by taxing the profeſſors, it will be found that the only effectual way of leſſening the numbers of clerks and advocates, is to diminiſh the quantity of buſineſs they will have to perform, by which means, the laws will be made to anſwer their proper object, by making them intelligible to thoſe they were meant to protect and to controul. The waſte of wars muſt be ſpared, by repealing thoſe monopolizing and excluſionary laws, which prevent mutual intercourſe between nations. The wants of mankind will induce them to explode merchantile jealouſies, (thoſe moſt fruitful ſources of war,) which miſtaken avarice has occaſioned, by diſcovering how effectually they are relieved by the moſt perfect freedom of commercial intercourſe. And when it is diſcovered, that merchantile craft has concealed from popular credulity, that commercial intercourſe has for its object the abundant ſupply of the conſumers, who compoſe all mankind. Not thoſe employed in diſtributing what is conſumed, who are but a few; the people will be as deſirous to have the laws of monopoly and excluſion repealed, as they have been for their being enacted. As nations approach to a full ſtocked population, they will perceive the inconvenience of thoſe encouragements given to particular branches of induſtry above the reſt, which in the end, by being extended to all, have no effect but to take the national induſtry from off its natural and firm foundation, to place it on props artificial and inſecure, on which, as all are equally raiſed, no one branch of induſtry can gain an advantage, and it comes to be

ſeen,

ſeen, that induſtry in a nation is like fluid in a bowl, the emptier it is, the more it will bear to be inclined without overflowing, but that it will hold moſt *in an exactly equal poſition*. And a ſtriking ſimilitude is to be found between the firſt, the ſavage, and the laſt, the commercial ſtate, on the ſcore of equality. In the ſavage ſtate men are equal, becauſe the ſkill with which their labour is applied is ſo defective, that they cannot, without their utmoſt exertions, make immenſe tracts of land ſufficiently productive to maintain a very ſcanty population, whilſt in the commercial ſtate the greateſt exertions, applied with the greateſt ſkill, can with equal difficulty provide ſubſiſtence for a very full ſtocked population. Gracious God! how melancholy, how dreadful to think, that craft, uſurpation, and tyranny, have impoſed ſyſtems on mankind, raiſed on ſuch abſurd principles, that every nation in Europe begins to feel thoſe ſhocks and convulſions which muſt ultimately follow, unleſs meaſures adequate to the great occaſion be inſtantly applied.—What are the meaſures? or how ſhall they to be applied? Ceaſe to continue thoſe laws in a commercial ſtate, which are only to be endured in the ſtate of ſhepherds and huſbandmen. Deſtroy the laws of primogeniture and intail, thoſe abſurd laws, which the pride of family has retained, for the purpoſe of perpetuating the monopoly of land to the few, to which they have taken care all political power ſhould be annexed. What enables one man to buy up the freedom of opinion and of action of ſo many others? Theſe laws.—What enables one of a family to keep ſuch numbers of ſervants, and to ſupport a

thouſand idle expences, while the reſt of the children are in a ſtate of indigence, worſe than ſervitude? And what occaſions that pride of family, which makes the reſt prefer indigence to induſtry? Theſe laws.—What engenders ſinecure placemen and penſioners, ſupported in luxury and diſſipation, by heaping burdens on the poor? Theſe laws.—What enables a few families to nominate in counties, and to monopolize the boroughs; in a word, to poſſeſs themſelves of the whole repreſentative democracy of England? What but the abſurd continuance of thoſe laws. Yet theſe are the leaſt evils theſe laws occaſion in a full ſtocked population. Theſe are but irruptions on the ſurface, under which the conſtitution might linger, the mortal diſeaſe lies deep ſeated within. By theſe laws a family pride is nurtured in the minds of wealthy merchants, and factors, which induces them to leave the bulk of their capital to an eldeſt ſon, who thereby becomes poſſeſſed of too much to follow the buſineſs by which it was made, which would not have been the caſe had the capital been broken down amongſt all the children alike *, whereby large drafts are continually made from the fund, which went to employ productive induſtry, to place it in the fund, which maintains nothing but unproductive idleneſs. I am aware, there is a vulgar

* If any one doubts the extent of this evil, let him enquire the condition of the reſt of the family of the owners of theſe great town houſes, and theſe extenſive demeſnes, which have been acquired by trade, with which all England abounds, and he will find them, even to the neareſt relations, either provided for at the public expence, or in the loweſt ſtate of indigence.

notion,

notion, that the poor are benefited by conſumption, no matter what kind; and it has been advanced in ſupport of keeping hounds, horſes, and ſuch idle expences. Suppoſe one million expended in the maintenance of hounds, horſes, for pleaſure, and ſuch unproductive expences, and a like ſum expended in maintaining farmers, and their working cattle, ſmiths, and weavers, is it not manifeſt, that they who expend their capital on the former, have it not to cauſe a like conſumption the year following, whilſt thoſe who expended theirs amongſt the latter, have not only a million to cauſe a like conſumption, but that they have a conſiderable profit in addition. By one mode of expenditure the fund for the employment of the induſtrious is ſquandered, by the other it is ſaved and augmented; by one mode of conſumption the increaſing population has an increaſing fund* to pay the wages of the induſtrious; by the other it muſt languiſh, from being deprived of it. Profuſion is as much the attendant of overgrown fortunes, to which the monopolizing ſpirit of thoſe laws give birth, as induſtry and œconomy is of thoſe moderate properties, it is the avowed and efficient purpoſe of thoſe laws not to ſuffer to exiſt. Beſides, by theſe laws, immenſe tracts of land are made to belong to one

* It is common to endeavour to defeat this ſort of reaſoning by puſhing it into an impoſſible extreme, as in this caſe, by ſuppoſing the argument went to the having no man in the ſtate who was not employed in productive induſtry. Although this is impoſſible, it does not follow that a ſyſtem which tends towards encreaſing the productive induſtry ſhould not be adopted, and that which tended towards encreaſing unproductive citizens diſcouraged. The queſtion at preſent is, which is moſt conſonant to your encreaſing population?

man, which under other laws of deſcent, would have been the property of many, by which alteration two evils ariſe, which cannot be endured in the increaſing population of a commercial ſtate. Firſt, immenſe tracts of land which are unimproved, muſt, under the *exiſting laws* remain ſo. What inducement has a man to go to a conſiderable expence in improving poor land, when the deſcendants of another are to enjoy the benefit, or a great part of it? And although men were willing to ſow, that others may reap, what a want of ability muſt the payment of ſo conſiderable a part of the produce, as the rent, occaſion? Compare the tenant unwilling, becauſe he is working for another, and unable, becauſe he is burdened with the payment of rent; with the ſmall proprietor, willing becauſe he is working for himſelf and his family, and able, becauſe he has the whole produce to effect what he is ſo intereſted in accompliſhing.

In the next place, monopoly* of landed property creates

* In anſwer, to the neceſſity of breaking down thoſe immenſe properties, which the preſent prediſpoſing laws of England have monopolized in ſo conſiderably fewer families, than they would have gone in, under a more natural courſe, ignorant men, (I am grieved their numbers are ſo great on this important ſubject) aſſert, that without theſe laws, you could have no Houſe of Peers, without a Houſe of Peers no Monarchy, and that the expenditure of theſe great properties is of uſe, to encourage the induſtrious. To theſe objections I anſwer, as population encreaſes, the miſery or happineſs of the people depends on the ſtate of the wealth of the nation. The proportion which the capital of the nation bears to the population, regulates the condition of the laborious part. *This is the great efficient cauſe, which muſt determine the intereſt of every people, and their intereſt muſt, in the long run, determine their conduct.*

I have

creates a power and a diſpoſition in the poſſeſſor to influence and to degrade thoſe by whom it is inhabited;

I have ſhewn that the people's being benefited by the expenditure of theſe overgrown fortunes is falſe; ſuch an idea could only have ariſen from the moſt conſummate ignorance of the ſubject; it ſuppoſes, that if theſe immenſe properties were broken down, their expenditure would not cauſe ſo great a conſumption; whereas it is only that it would cauſe a conſumption of a different kind. The produce of 50,000 acres in the hands of one man, will be expended in maintaining idle people, and idle horſes; and even the greater part of the manufactures which is conſumed can neither be called neceſſaries nor conveniencies, they are moſtly imaginary wants; and even after theſe, there will remain of theſe overgrown fortunes a large portion for the purchaſe of political power, by which the greateſt miſchief is done, in debauching and corrupting the people's mind, to give up it's intereſt for ſome paltry conſideration, or for the means of temporary intoxication. But at the end of the year the whole produce of the 50,000 acres is expended, ſo as to add very little to the capital, upon whoſe encreaſe the happineſs of the laborious ſo entirely depends; whereas in the hands of many it would be expended with a view of profit and of increaſe. It will be expended in the maintainance of men engaged in agriculture, and the manufacture of the neceſſaries and conveniences of life; and yet it is as completely conſumed, as if it had been waſted amongſt the idlers of the man of overgrown fortune; for farmers, carpenters, ſmiths, weavers, and ſpinners, eat as much as idlers; they wear hats, coats, ſhirts, and ſhoes, alſo. Conſumption takes place equally in both caſes, but it is of a different kind; the preſent ſtock is conſumed equally in both caſes; but the important difference is, the one conſumes the national produce without any reproduction; the other cauſes no conſumption but with a view of encreaſe: the one diſſipates the national wealth, which a growing population requires ſhould be ſaved and augmented; the other by its ſaving and augmentation, makes the national capital to keep pace with the growing numbers, whereby the encreaſe of wages and of population go hand in hand. This great principle which decides the fate of the laborious part of mankind, cannot be repeated too often.

by which means, that conſiderable number of "inde-pendent wills," on which alone a free government can be formed, are annihilated, without which all plans of reform are illuſiory and inſufficient.

Thus far I have reaſoned with men of property on the grounds of general good, and of phyſical neceſſity; but theſe are not all, there are other grounds, the grounds of juſtice: if they will not learn, they muſt feel that it is the immutable will of God, that for man to be ſecure he muſt be juſt. It is not he who contents himſelf to act fairly betwixt man and man, meanly ſells mankind, and lives on the wages of his own diſgrace, that ſhall find conſolation in the godlike mandate, "Be juſt and fear not:" this is the peculiar privilege of thoſe who have been ſcrupulouſly honeſt, where the millions are concerned, whoſe doom is labour, and whoſe claims are juſtice; if you would have the people reſpect property, ſhew them the example, Reſpect theirs. Have you done ſo? Let the millions and the hundred of millions ſquandered ſince 1688 riſe in evidence againſt you; or is it that the labour of the hands, and the ſweat of the brow is the leaſt ſacred property that it ſhould be leaſt reſpected? How do men deceive themſelves when they imagine that the pillage of the people, though with all the order and regularity of legal form, can alter the injuſtice or put off the day of reckoning, and of ultimate retaliation. The courtier, who is paid the ſalary of his ſinecure place, or of his penſion, immediately out of the exchequer, is as burdenſome, and more ſo, than if he went

went about to collect it himself; the only difference is, that the people would see the nature of the expenditure * of their substance; and that they would be more likely to oppose themselves to the extravagance of government. If a courtier was to sally forth, after he had received the grant of his pension, or of his sinecure place, to collect the salary, with a full account of the services for which he originally obtained it, and the services for which he continued to receive, and that he was to demand from the industrious poor a tax for the light of heaven at his rising, a tax for his shoes, his hat, and the rest of the cloaths with which he was covering himself, a tax for the liberty of using the black tea, brown sugar, or molasses, for which he had given the full value, a tax on the beer with which he had quenched his thirst, a tax on the coals, wherewith he dressed his humble meal, a tax on the soap, which was to preserve him and his family from filth, and a tax for the candle, by which he worked when the light of the sun had left him—I do not imagine the national debt would have grown to its present enormity.

* The custom of funding was the most ruinous cheat ever put on the people. It enables the government to squander the fee simple of the nation, while the people think they do no more than spend a part of the income. If the whole expence which government lay out in influencing the legislature, in maintaining armies and navies, pensioners, &c. &c. was levyed out of the annual income of the people, they would have felt the whole weight when it was imposed, and their feelings would induced them to oblige their legislators or governors to restrain their extravagance within the bounds of that enormity which now threatens you with ruin.

If men were perfectly wiſe, and perfectly virtuous, they would have no occaſion for government at all; it is their ignorance and their vices which call for controul; and in proportion as nations are well or ill informed, as they are virtuous or vicious, in an exact degree they will be competent to enjoy that free government, of which mildneſs and juſtice ſhall be the characteriſtics, or they will be doomed to that deſpotiſm, on which, contempt for the rights and feelings of mankind, is the never-failing attendant.

That theſe neceſſary ingredients for promoting ſocial intercourſe, by facilitating government, ſhould be as operative as poſſible, the Conſtitution ſhould be founded on ſuch impartial principles, as will occaſion the leaſt poſſible temptation to violate their dictates. How much depends on the abſence of temptation, is ſeen in the ſavage ſtate, where the abſence of property, by cauſing the abſence of temptation, has rendered government unneceſſary, even in this rude ſtate, in which knowledge, or moral principle, have made ſuch little progreſs. The neceſſity of regulating the courſe of property by wiſe laws is ſeen, by the confuſion it occaſions from the firſt moment of its entrance into the ſocial ſtate. Give ſavages herds to tend, and corn to ſow, *you cauſe a revolution.* You have introduced property, and with it ſome ſort of government muſt be created. It is waſte of time to argue which ſort of government, *of right,* it ſhould be, becauſe in every ſociety into which property has entered, if ignorance pervades the people, none but violent government can obtain.

The

The furious and inſatiable paſſions, avarice and ambition, ruſh into every ſtate where property has entered. Univerſal ignorance is their helpleſs prey, and univerſal knowledge is the only maſter by which thoſe violent paſſions can be controuled. From the deſtruction of the Roman empire, ignorance, with its concomitants, ſuperſtition, devotion to prieſts, and unmeaning attachment to particular families, was the ſport of deſpotiſm; and the entire hiſtory from that time to the preſent, is nothing more than a detail of the efforts of growing knowledge to regain, what, from ignorance in the weak moments of human nature, had been uſurped. When men diſpute on the people's being bound by this, or by that government, by this or by that compact, they talk as groſs nonſenſe as if they were to ſay, that a boy of ten years of age was to be bound by his thoughts at the age of two; or that a lad of the age of twenty, was to be bound by his thoughts at the age of ten; or of a man at the age of thirty, being bound by his thoughts at the age of twenty: he is bound by his reaſon at all times; and at no time is he bound to continue in error one inſtant after the improvement of his underſtanding has enabled him to detect it. So it is with individuals, and ſo it is alſo with nations of whom they are compoſed.

If defects are pointed out in a government, and that the great majority of the nation are convinced they are impediments to their wellfare, that a few, the legiſlature amongſt thoſe few, think otherwiſe, and that the privileges poſſeſſed by thoſe few compoſe the eſſence of thoſe defects, who will aſſert, that the deſires of the

the people ſhould not prevail? who will aſſert, the very difference of opinion is not the moſt inconteſtible proof, that the legiſlature repreſent neither the will, nor the intereſt of the people? If mankind are ſenſible that in their preſent advanced ſtate of commercial ſociety, they need not dread the efforts of ambition, or deſpotiſm to enſlave them; and that they are ſufficiently enlightend to detect and puniſh all attempts on their liberties: they will naturally adopt that ſort of government which is cheapeſt, and beſt ſuited to their condition, and they will reject thoſe governments which were ſuited to that ignorance, in which it is prudent to leave little to election or deſign, where, as knowledge increaſes, nothing ſhort of inexhauſtable wealth would be ſufficient to influence it, and to buy it off? what was done, or ſubmited to, in times of ignorance, when uſurpation took the place of reaſon, and juſtice, when England contained two or three millions of illiterate boors, apportioned amongſt two or three hundred, or as many thouſand hereditary deſpots, to the full as illiterate, was no more a rule for their deſcendants at the Revolution, when knowledge began to dawn, than the conduct of theſe deſcendants is to you, when knowledge and independence have made ſuch conſiderable progreſs. Children who want ſenſe to manage their affairs, muſt leave the conduct of them to gaurdians, who will peculate in proportion to the want of ability to call them to account: but ſhall what is neceſſity in infants be made a rule for the adult? ſhall they never be at liberty to call them to account, to diſmiſs them, and to employ others?

others? yet this is what ſo many would deny the Engliſh nation. It is thus you are told to perpetuate the inſtitutions of its youth, as the world advances in age. How abſurd to tell a man of ſixty years old, to be directed by the deciſions of his childhood; how abſurd to tell him the plans of his infancy muſt govern him in his manhood. What a ſhameful ſophiſm then to perpetuate abuſes, to ſubject the more matured world to the inſtitutions of more youthful times, as if the progreſs of the world was from the wiſdom of youth, to the folly of old age.

After you have ſtudied all that political and hiſtorical writers have writen, you can only know what the experience of the tranſactions of mankind could furniſh before this Revolution; and if the world was put back, to live paſt centuries over again, they would contain valuable compilations for its inſtruction: but if dependencies, relations and turn of thought have undergone a change in the minds of the bulk of mankind, although a few, from their privileges having given their minds a different bias, may not adopt opinions which attack their continuance, nor abandon abſolute inſtitutions, by which theſe privileges were firſt monopolized, and by which they are ſtill ſupported, the progreſs of the effects of knowledge and independence may be retarded by their oppoſition, but cannot be ſtoped nor put back.

Of the extracts of events which the actions and paſſions of mankind in the different ſtages of civil ſociety, and under the different forms of government, have brought to paſs, Monteſquieu's ſpirit of laws is one of the

the moſt valuable collections; yet, how happy would even this ſage be, to be allowed, if alive at this day, to retract his general aſſertions, ſo many of which this Revolution has ſhewn to have been fallacious, or at leaſt to be allowed to qualify them, by confining them to the ſtate of ſociety, in which thoſe events had happened, which had led him to make them.

If Hume, one of the moſt accute and one of the beſt informed men that ever lived, who, however imperfect in knowledge of the influence of the commercial ſtate on governments, knew ſo much more than Monteſquieu, whoſe writings on that head betrays his ignorance of the ſubject, if Hume, I ſay, had been aſked fifty years ago, in the firſt inſtance, whether the clubiſts would have prevailed in forming a Republic in France, or a general, whoſe life of pureſt patriotiſm had made him idolizd by his army, in ſupporting monarchy; or in the next inſtance, which would be moſt likely to ſucceed, A new government, diſtracted with a variety of the moſt violent convulſions, in eſtabliſhing a Republic in France; or an able general, in reſtoring monarchy, at the head of a powerful army, where he had diſputed ſome of the moſt memorable battles ever fought, in which he diſplayed the greateſt ability; the hiſtorian and philoſopher would naturaly have cited the numerous inſtances of attatchment of ſoldiers to their generals, who had gained their confidence, with which the Grecian and Roman hiſtories abound, he would have cited thoſe numerous inſtances which modern hiſtory affords, above all, thoſe which he has ſince given to the world in his hiſtory of England, by which he would

would have been warranted in deciding in favour of the generals, becauſe he had never heard of an army compoſed of men, whoſe minds, wholly unſhackled by fudal, or other dependences, and feeling all the freedom of the commercial ſtate, fought for a conſtitution in which the agrandizement of individuals was guarded againſt with ſanguinary jealouſy. He had ſeen mankind acting uniformly under the forms of governments which chance or uſurpation had ſet over them. Never before the American Revolution, did a whole people demand an original code to limit their future legiſlators, and their future magiſtrates. This was an exertion on the part of mankind, which reaſoning from their former ignorance, and ſubmiſſiveneſs, no one was warranted to ſay, their future knowledge and independence would have enabled them to make. Compare the people of any nation at one time and at another: compare the ſcanty population of illiterate clowns, ſcattered over the country, not hearing for years, what has paſt at a few miles diſtance, with a teeming population, ſo well informed, that intelligience of the moſt minuteſt circumſtance is conveyed from parts of the moſt remote, within a few hours: compare the controul of theſe ſluggiſh boors over government, with the controul of millions, whoſe knowledge and independence enabled them to detect and puniſh the leaſt infraction of the law: compare an ariſtocracy *inheriting* the conſequential ſtupidity of ſelf-ſufficiency, in whom a ready born pre-emience has ſtiffled every exertion of the mind and every idea of mutual accomodation: compare this unnatural maſs of

inflated

inflated vanity, ignorance, and ſelfiſhneſs, with the ariſtocracy of reaſon, which calls fourth and poliſhes every virtue, that can facilitate and improve ſocial intercourſe: compare religion in the hands of empirics, employing the terrors of offended omnipotence, to terrify trembling ſuperſtition into an unconditional ſurrender of reaſon. With religion in the minds of a people, whoſe enlightened underſtanding tells them, conſcience is the only ledger, which reaſon keeps between them and their Creator, which the omnicient will read without the aſſiſtance or commentary of the prieſthood, whoſe apparent virtue has ever been the ſize of their diſſimulation, and whoſe contempt for power and wealth in this world has been bounded only by the moſt active aſſiduity in their attainment.—The people of France have been accuſed of not adopting the moſt perfect* model of government the world had yet produced, which the vanity of their accuſers led them to ſuppoſe, "the beſt human nature could attain," and for paſſing it by, they have been charged with ruſhing into the wilds of theoric ſpeculation. Uſurped, and even delegated power had been abuſed, and had cauſed oppreſſive burdens under the form of government ſo confidently held out for imitation. Was France to

* If we are to eſtimate governments by the comfort, happineſs, and tranquility of the people, or by the quantity of puniſhment annually inflicted to oblige them to comply with its laws, or by the expence for which they are adminiſtered, I cannot conceive by what rule of reaſon England can claim a better government than America; or why Ireland ſhould not rank amongſt the worſt governments in the world.

adopt

adopt thoſe abuſes, which had cauſed burdens equal* to her own, and deſpair of arriving any nearer to perfection? or ſhall they who imitate defects, not they who endeavour to correct them, be ſaid to be guided by experience? The pre-diſpoſing laws in the government of England was that of extreme inequality, which, with the increaſing knowledge, independence, and population, demanded hourly a more and more extravagant government to uphold it, was it extraordinary, that the leading men in France, ſeeing the ill effects of inequality forced and ſupported by law in England, and feeling ſtill worſe effects from the ſame cauſe at home, ſhould have become ſtrenuous advocates for a prediſpoſing ſyſtem *tending* to equality †, or that the bulk

* Eſtimating the population of Great Britain at ten millions and its taxes, the ſupport of its government, the payment of the intereſt of its debt, its poor rates, clergy, &c. &c. at twenty-five millions; and eſtimating the taxes of France before the Revolution at twenty-five millions, and her population at the ſame, the taxes of Great Britain would amount to fifty ſhillings a head, thoſe of France to but twenty, the difference of the *late* government of France and that of the *late* government of Great Britain was not in expence, but in civil liberty, they had no Habeas Corpus act in France.

† On this head it has been aſked, will you adopt a ſyſtem of perfect equality? I anſwer I will not; but the impoſſibility of eſtabliſhing perfect equality of power and propery is no more an argument againſt a ſyſtem which tends towards it; than the impoſſibility of attaining perfect virtue ſhould be an argument againſt a ſyſtem of education, which inculcated virtue in the extreme, but to argue in favour of forcing and ſupporting inequality by law, by advancing the impoſſibility of eſtabliſhing perfect equality, is the ſame, as to inculcate vice from the impoſſibility of attaining perfect virtue. If there is a truiſm in politics, it is, That unleſs the pre-diſpoſing laws of the ſocial ſtate, accords with equality,

 founded

bulk of the people ſhould idolize a ſyſtem, in ſuch uniſon with the feelings, and the intereſt of all, but the monopoliſts and the privileged? If the prediſpoſing tendency of laws in a nation does not correſpond with the ſtate of ſociety, to which the people have arrived, the wants, occaſioned by the diſcordance, will impell them, by phyſical neceſſity, to effect coincidence by force, which ſhould have been effected by reaſon, if thoſe who direct national concerns acted impartially by the intire republic. We may regret the cruelty and the violation of apparent juſtice, which ſuppoſes a ſmall claſs in ſociety, intitled to an uninterrupted enjoyment, and perpetual monopoly of its uſurpations of long ſtanding, no matter how injurious to the reſt of mankind; we may regret them, but we ſhall find, on an attentive inveſtigation, that they are the inevitable conſequences of inequality, cauſed by injuſtice and uſurpation, and ripened by laws of monopoly and excluſion. Has God given man reaſon to guide him, and yet ſuffered that to be the moſt perfect ſyſtem for his government, which indures but by the means it employs to bias him in the uſe of it, without accuſing the Omnicient with fragrant contradiction? Examine his works, you cannot but obſerve what a delightful ſymmetry pervades the entire. Woe to that nation then by whom it has been violated! Shall the efforts of nature, to reſtore the ſym-

founded on that moſt ſtrict juſtice, which encourages ambition and emulation, as far as they lead to induſtry and uſeful activity, but checks them the inſtant they would lead to corruption, domination, and the abuſe of power. No perfectly free government can be formed on laſting principles.

metry

metry ſhe ordains, torture and convulſe the human frame? And ſhall obſtructions in the ſocial ſtate be ſet right without the torture and convulſion of mankind? Shall the unequal diſtribution of the fleeting air cauſe the hurricane, and ſhall the more ſubſtantial elements be the ſport of rapacity and injuſtice, and not call forth ſtorms to equalize their portions through the globe*? It is in vain to perſuade men to what they do not wiſh to believe. It is in vain to perſuade men, who have poſſeſſed themſelves of the power and property of their country, that a revolution has happened in civil ſociety in Europe, which muſt bring men to a nearer equality, than they are in at preſent, by the moſt violent means, unleſs thoſe laws, by which inequality has been forced and maintained, are repealed. I know they will not be convinced that the progreſs of this revolution is as inevitable, as the exiſtence of the circumſtances which have occaſioned it are indiſputable, no ways to be di-

* If theſe pages ſhould fall into the hands of a ſuperficial wiſe man, or into the hands of one who ſubmits to know no more than his prejudices and his paſſions will ſuffer him to learn, and that either ſhould aſk, do the lower orders comprehend this reaſoning? I anſwer, my purpoſe is to ſhew the higher orders that the bulk of mankind will be impelled by phyſical neceſſity to effect by violence, what I ſo earneſtly recommend their rulers to effect by reaſon, before this neceſſity begins to operate; and that being already convinced what part the lower orders will take, my ſole object is to teach the higher orders what they ought to do. Reaſonings which go to prove that the unequal ſyſtem will produce violent revolution, can never move the bulk of mankind to have recourſe to ſo dreadful a remedy; men, as a body, act from feeling, and are not to be argued into belief of wants they do not feel, nor are they to be argued out of a conviction of wants they endure.

verted by the contingencies of battles, intrigues, negociations, or factions. Let me aſk you, who have large fortunes, Do you not perceive that you have been actuated by fears, within theſe few years, you were ſtrangers to before? And you who have hereditary titles, Do you not perceive that thoſe ſtilts, on which you over-looked the people, and which obliged the people to look up to you, have been worn to the ground, and that the reſt of mankind ſtand as high as you? Yes, but it is to theſe French principles we owe the change; ſhallow thinkers! The French revolution, and theſe French principles, are but effects of that great cauſe, which now begins to operate throughout all Europe, whoſe influence will be as general as the uſe of the compaſs and the preſs; and as every other country, as well as France, contains privileged families, who will oppoſe its irriſiſtible progreſs, probably their revolutions will be attended with ſimilar convulſions; yet the rich and the ruling powers in England fondly imagine they will prevent its influence, and arreſt its progreſs, *by war againſt opinions, and by ſtrengthening the hands of government.* As to opinions, they would not be formidable, if it was not the intereſt of the bulk of the people to adopt them. When ſociety ſhall have arrived at that ſtate, when it ſhall be apparent to the meaneſt capacity, that the monopoly of extreme wealth in the hands of a few, has occaſioned an inſupportable extreme poverty in the many, war, which is to add to that poverty, without diminiſhing from that inequality of wealth, will not alter the opinions. As to

ſtrengthen-

ſtrengthening* government, though in your preſent infatuation you have made them as abſolute as the old French deſpotiſm, your governors ſhould recollect, *that was not ſtrong enough to prevent a revolution.*

As things are conſtituted at preſent, it is not very difficult † to involve England in war; but when it is undertaken by the governing part, to divert the people from thinking of their condition, as it will not lighten their burdens, they are not likely to be better ſatisfied at its termination, than they were at its commencement. Who is ſo ignorant as not to know, that the inevitable conſequence of war is increaſe of taxes and increaſe of debt? That at no time is general calamity ſo ſeverely felt as at the cloſe of an expenſive war? Becauſe in war time government have occaſion for an

* How thoſe words have been miſconceived. In their preſent acceptation in England, Spain and Germany are amongſt the ſtrongeſt governments in the world; America and Switzerland the weakeſt. There is a volume in this reflection to corroborate, that equality is ſtrength, that inequality is weakneſs.

† When we conſider the number of officers in the army and navy who come into full pay with a proſpect of further promotions; the number of privateers, and the buſtle war occaſions in every ſea-port town in Great Britain; the vaſt opportunity it affords monied men of turning their money to advantage by loan and by contracts; when we reflect on the monopolizing excluſionary laws, by which ſhe attempts to force her induſtry on other nations, and to exclude theirs from a competition in her market, which raiſes the hand of every nation againſt her, and hers againſt every nation; when we conſider her vaſt dominions in the moſt remote corners of the univerſe, ſome held like Gibralter, as if to create enemies. I am warranted in ſaying the pre-diſpoſing circumſtances of Great Britain lead to a war ſyſtem, but it was reſerved for the preſent miniſter to apply it as an anodyne for the anguiſh his direliction of thoſe principles which helped him into power have cauſed.

unuſual amount of foreign bills, to pay the troops and the ſubſidies, which they buy from the merchants, who have no other means of paying their foreign correſpondents than by exporting an unuſual quantity of manufactures, by which the foreign markets are glutted, and becauſe of the additional numbers who ſeek employment from the diſbanded armies and navy, whereby employment diminiſhes as the numbers who ſeek it are augmented; thus involving a nation in war, to divert her from thinking of her condition, is like adminiſtering drams to perſons afflicted with lowneſs of ſpirits; believe me, ſober thinking will ſucceed in a nation, as well as in an individual, and the diſeaſe, encreaſed by pernicious medicine, will preſent horrors equally unſupportable. If theſe facts come home to your conviction, Why have the miniſters involved you in this ruinous war? Why did they not interfere when their mediation was ſo earneſtly ſolicited * by the French, and when the Germans dared not have framed the treaty of Pelnitz, had the Britiſh cabinet acted like the miniſters of a great people, not like the underlings of an alarmed court? The anſwer is but too plain. The

* It is ſcarcely credible, that the miniſters, who, when earneſtly ſolicited to uſe their good offices to prevent hoſtilities between the French and the Germans, declined interfereing; "from their reſpect for the rights and independence of other ſovereigns." (See the anſwer to Mr. Chauvelin's note.) That theſe men ſhould have ſo totally loſt their delicacy, and have ſo totally forgotten this reſpect for the rights and independence of France, as not only to engage as a principal in a war, but to ſubordinize one half, and to attempt to bully the other half, of Europe, to violate the rights and independence (ſee Hood's declaration) of that very nation, that but a little time before had ſo earneſtly entreated their mediation for peace.

miniſters,

miniſters, for the reaſons I have mentioned, were anxious to engage in a war, which from the immenſe combination of powers formed againſt France, they calculated muſt be *ſhort*, *cheap*, and *glorious*; and after trying every thing force, bribery, or famine could effect, they will find themſelves miſtaken, which rather than acknowledge or amend, England muſt ſuffer the *laſt diſaſters*. If it was neceſſary to adduce farther proof that the object of this war, on the part of the allies, was to perpetuate abuſes, which ſupport deſpotiſm in ſome of their dominions, or go towards its eſtabliſhment in others, it is to be found in their ſeveral declarations, of which no one agrees with another, nor no one with itſelf. If their object had reference to France only, they could eaſily have fixed on ſome plan, in which all could have agreed, but their object was to oppoſe the eſtabliſhment of freedom in France, in an exact proportion as their own ſubjects ſtood in need of it at home. Yes, the ſcale on which each of the leagued powers would grant liberty to the people of France, *if in their power*, will be given by examining the ſcale on which each of them are obliged to grant it in their own dominions; this is the key by which you muſt diſcypher the hieroglyphical declarations and manifeſto's of their generals and admirals; leave it to Rome to apportion liberty to France, and ſhe will put her back to the bigotry and cruſades of the centuries paſt; leave it to Ruſſia, Spain, Sardinia, Portugal, Naples, Pruſſia, Auſtria, England, and Holland, and they will dole out their ſeveral portions of freedom, nearly in the order I have placed them, all equally well ſatisfied theirs is

that exact quantity neceſſary for the happineſs of mankind. Let them ruſh forward in the cauſe of deſpotiſm againſt freedom, when they are exhauſted, they will find themſelves at the wrong ſide of the ſacred portals of liberty, and that the more violently they have attempted to force them, the more firmly they have cloſed them againſt themſelves; they have taken care that the people of France ſhould loſe all idea of a medium between that *reſiſtance* which muſt eſtabliſh the right to form a government of their choice, and that *ſubmiſſion* which muſt yield unconditionally to a counter revolution, by which their former tyrants are to reſume their ancient gibbets, racks, and tortures, to be applied with all the ſeverity of the moſt vindictive revenge; but the Babilonian jargon of the diſcordant allies, the ſcrupulous reſtoration of the old deſpotiſm, by the duke of Brunſwick, at Longwy and Verdun; the admonitions of Wurmſer, in Alſace, and the unexampled breach of faith and juſtice towards Poland, by leaving no doubts nor hopes in the minds of the people of France, will afford the allies and the world a dreadful example, of what a people, driven to diſpair, can atchieve. Was not the triumph of men fighting for liberty, ſelf-importance, or even againſt the harſh dictation of other nations, ſufficiently compleat in the defeat of the veterans of Spain, by a handful of Dutch fiſhermen? or in the victory of a few ſcattered Americans over the whole power of England? without adding the victory of a ſingle nation over the leagued deſpots of Europe? Was it that the bigotry of Spain, or the taxation of America, by England, was more intolerable,

tolerable, than the deſpotiſm of the old French government, that we ſhould conclude, that the French will perſevere with leſs fortitude? or is it that they would have leſs to reſtore, or leſs to dread, if they ſhould ſurrender, that we ſhould ſuppoſe they will act with leſs obſtinacy, or with leſs deſperation? Alas! they little know the human mind, who imagine that men, emerging from the loweſt ſtate of inſignificance, and degradation, to fill the important office of public orator, in thoſe clubs now firmly eſtabliſhed, and reigning triumphant in every hamlet in France, where they feel themſelves as much above the kings they daily denounce, as rage can elevate their heated imaginations; that theſe men ſhould deſcend from their beloved roſtrum to make unconditional ſurrender of their importance; that they ſhould make unqualified reſtitution and ſubmiſſion, and tamely ſuffer their ancient goalers to remand them to their former dungeons, if there is not an Emigrant in England, though bereft of every hope, can hear of the diſmemberment of his country without emotion. What muſt the people in France feel on reading the declarations of the allies, or the debates of the Engliſh legiſlators? Do you imagine there is a man in France will ballance between death, and ſubmiſſion, to intendants, tax gatherers, and farmers-general, the baſtile, and the chatelet, the corvé, the aides, the traites, the gabelle, the main-mort, the tythes, the vingtiémes, the táille, the capitation, the farms of tobacco, the gallies, wheels, racks, and torture*? Inſanity alone could expect

* It may be objected, that they ſuffer more under their preſent government, than they ſuffered under the deſpotiſm they deſtroyed, granted; but

expect it. When the Almighty purifies the elements by the tempeſts, carrying temporary devaſtation and miſery over the earth, ſhall we arraign his inevitable decree, or, with irreverent arrogance, preſume to diſpute his wiſdom? Are the ſtorms now raging in France leſs his work? Shall we calumniate ſo great a portion of mankind, and ſtand acquitted of the impiety of arraigning

but I will reſt the whole of what I have advanced on this one queſtion: Could any one ſet of men have been inveſted with the power now exerciſed by the preſent government if the other powers of Europe had not attempted to force a government on France? Severe as it is, the people of France are convinced nothing ſhort of that ſeverity could prevent treaſon againſt the exerciſe of the right to make a government of their choice. If the aſſertion of Mr. Pitt, that the unexampled enthuſiaſm of their armies is the effect of terror of their government, was founded, how has it happened, that his expenſive attempts to ſeduce the people from their allegiance for ſo many thouſand miles of frontier have failed? When he talks of the deſpotiſm of Roberſpier or Barrere, he forgets that one of the firſt decrees after the revolution, went to eſtabliſh a volunteer army of four millions and an half of citizen ſoldiers, who have been diſciplined theſe five years; one million of whom are now on actual ſervice; the truth is, let the Britiſh miniſters diſguiſe it how they can, the people of France will bear any government, and they will concur in the deſtruction of any men, which ſhall be neceſſary to enable them to frame a government of their choice; they think of nothing but of aſſerting that right, and they feel themſelves too ſtrong, to fear the attempts of any ſet of men to form an internal deſpotiſm, which would vaniſh the inſtant they were at leiſure to make a free government. And although we may ſhudder at the means that have been reſorted to, to divide and break down landed property, yet, nothing will facilitate the forming a free government ſo much as an extenſive yeomanry. It argues the groſſeſt political ignorance to ſuppoſe, that in the preſent commercial ſtate of Europe, deſpotiſm can gain ground or hold its own; there is the ſtrongeſt tendency in ſociety at preſent, not only to deſtroy deſpotiſm, but even abuſes in tolerably free government, and reſiſtance in both caſes muſt haſten revolutions.

their

their creator and director? Shall we ſuppoſe the people of France to act under paſſions and impreſſions oppoſite to the will of the Omnipotent, and ſtand clear of blaſphemous preſumption? It is not for us to cenſure the works of the Almighty, they are for our inſtruction, not for our invectives, or reproach. Inſtead of waging war againſt Revolution, which the order of nature has produced in civil ſociety in France, the leagued deſpots ſhould have looked at home; there they would have found the ſeeds of Revolution in the moſt barren ſoil of military deſpotiſm; they would have learnt the folly of fighting againſt the French, for attempting to export principles, which, if they had examined, they muſt have found ready ſown in every crevice of their own dominions; and they would have ſeen them vegetate, in proportion as they had been cultured by independence begot by commerce, by knowledge derived from the preſs, and by the wants of man ariſing from population. The Miniſter of England would have learnt, that to ſupport the preſent ſyſtem of forced inequality of power and property, inſtead of war, of aſſociators, of informers, of barracks, of unconſtitutional ſubſcriptions, for proſecuting, or rather perſecuting * opinions, and for raiſing armies, without the conſent of parliament, inſtead of ſtretching the laws to unexampled cruelty; and to crown all, inſtead of ſuſpending the law and the conſtitution, he ſhould introduce an inſtrument infinitely more operative than the guilliotine, into every ſea-port and manufacturing town in

* See the three proſecutions of Eaton, the bookſeller. The perſecution of this man ſince the ſuſpenſion of the conſtitution exceeds all belief.

Great

Great Britain and Ireland, which, without mercy, or remorſe, he ſhould apply to the neck of every manufacturer, merchant, and mariner; he ſhould not only aboliſh commerce, but he ſhould deſtroy the compaſs; he ſhould not only conſign every book to the flames, but he ſhould obliterate the preſs; and having reduced the population to the ſcanty numbers of illiterate clowns and plowmen, ariſtocracy might live on, in all the grandeur and ignorance of hereditary monarchy, lordſhip, and villinage.

It is painful to me, when I addreſs a great and virtuous people, on the inexpediency of ſome of their laws, to be obliged to ſpeak of the depravity of thoſe by whom they are adminiſtered. It is the peculiar excellence of free governments to call forth ſuch a maſs of information and energy as to leave no agitating fears, no diſquieting anxieties for their liberties, on the minds of the people; to ſlaves doomed to drag on life, under the caprice of deſpots, it belongs to expect, with anxious ſolicitude, alleviation of their galling fetters, from ſome happy change from vice to virtue in their lords and maſters; this was the ſtate of England for centuries: examine her hiſtory, you will find how much depended on the character of her kings, down to 1688; from that period it has been of little conſequence to the affairs of England, whether her kings were wiſe men or fools, paſſive or active, virtuous or vicious; would to God I could ſay the ſame of her miniſters. Do you not feel degraded, when you reflect, that for theſe twelve years, you have been under the little minded impreſſion of ſuppoſing, your liberties depended on continuing

continuing one man in power, and keeping another out? What a crazy veſſel is your all on board, when with ſo numerous, ſo intelligent, ſo active, and ſo honeſt a crew, you fear, leaſt one man ſhould upſet her? How complex muſt be her tackle, how difficult to work her, and how ill ſhe muſt be found, when but one man has ſkill enough to keep her from going to the bottom. What pity it is that ſuch noble natures ſhould be dupes to their own honeſt credulity! When men look after their own affairs, they are ſure to have their buſineſs faithfully and well done, when they depute others to act for them, without retaining the power of frequent revocation, they are ſure to be betrayed, whether by ſtewards or agents, truſtees or guardians. It is the ſame with nations; and the mighty ſecret in both caſes, is to keep the power of frequent reckoning in your own hands; yet, plain and ſimple as this doctrine is, in theſe times of infatuation, you will be told, it leads to anarchy, to bloodſhed, and to every thing that revolts your nature, to Jacobiniſm itſelf; men in power ſay one thing, and men out of power ſay the other; and your preſent miniſter has furniſhed you with flaming precedents for both. When I firſt knew him, I ſpeak as a public man, he was decidedly of the opinions I now maintain; he was convinced the expence, by which the ſyſtem of corruption is upheld, muſt work its own deſtruction; he ſaw that a change of men could never cure diſeaſes, which required a change in government: theſe were the avowed principles by which he claimed your confidence; theſe were the expreſs ſtipulations on which you gave it: the miſchief you complained

plained of, and the evil he engaged to remedy, was, "the immoderate expence by which government was "supported." Has he reduced that expence one ſhilling? Has the fund for influencing, or for corruption, been diminiſhed ſince his acceſſion? Has he, his friends and relatives, alleviated the burdens of his tottering countrymen, by a more diſintereſted diſcharge of the functions with which you have honoured them? *Let the facts judge him.* When he came into power the taxes amounted to 12,995,519£. now they amount to 19 millions; within theſe twelve years you have been made to bend under the additional burden of ſix millions additional tax. Is this the promiſed ſaviour of his country, whoſe ſole merit conſiſts in his ſuperior addreſs, in extracting ſuch immenſe ſums from an exhauſted people, by his ſuperior drill of that honourable corps, the officers of Revenue? Be it ſo; when the meaſure of your infatuation is full, you will ſee what a tiſſue of contradictions his political career exhibits. HE BEGAN IT THE SWORN FRIEND OF ENFEEBLED REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY; HE WILL END IT WITH ALL THE VINDICTIVE ZEAL OF AN APOSTATE; he gained your confidence on the expreſs ſtipulation of aboliſhing the ſyſtem of corruption he found eſtabliſhed; he will loſe it after he has extended * that ſyſtem beyond the example of the moſt prodigal

* The enormous increaſe of taxes and of power, even to the ſuſpenſion of the conſtitution, gives an adequate idea of the miniſter's proweſs in England, it reſts with Lord St. Hellens' to ſay what the ſervices were, which were demanded of him in Ireland, and which he declined, but which Lord Hobart boaſts of his having carried into execution, and for which,

prodigal of his predeceſſors; he entered into power the reviler of men, who thought more of their own agrandizement, than of the public good; he will leave it, with a monſtrous accumulation of places of profit and honour, (excuſe the proſtitution) in himſelf, his relatives, and connections; he pledged himſelf to riſque every thing to obtain a repreſentative reform, yet, rather than endanger his preſent power, he has abandoned every principle of honour; and, to crown all, he entered into ſtation, under the modeſt conviction, that to ſupport the ſyſtem of his predeceſſors was beyond the ſcope of human capacity, and he will quit it, after he has reduced his country to the laſt diſaſters, leaving a melancholy example of that vanity, which could arrogate virtue and abilities it had denied to the reſt of mankind. What another name would he have handed down to after generations, had he ſhewn a mind above the debauch of power: had he taken his ſtand on that rock he firſt ſtood on, from which he might have aſſailed the corruption that floated round him, or againſt which it would have daſhed to imperceptible atoms, to mix with the ſurrounding elements, he would have regenerated and purified his tainted country. "The fault, dear Britons, is not in your ſtars, but in yourſelves, that you are underlings. What ſhould be in that name?" On Pitt's acceſſion you were free as your own thoughts. Whom now can you truſt? Informers

which, no doubt, he will be rewarded in India; if the Company wiſh to traffic in titles, and their preſent moderate price in Europe may tempt them, or to deal in the ſale of the repreſentation of an inſulted and abuſed province, that ſhould be free, they could not have choſen a more accompliſhed factor.

in

in the garb of gentlemen; locuſts of the old French* deſpotiſm, ſwarm in your country, blighting the ſweet fruits of confidence, and leaving your once rich harveſt of delicious friendſhip, a barren waſte, to diffidence and diſtruſt.

Had I not written one line to prove the inſtability of the preſent political ſyſtem in its unaltered, unamended condition; the ſtrong and preſſing neceſſity under which the miniſter labours to increaſe, not only the influence, but the power of government; the extraordinary means that are uſed to ſuppreſs the freedom of diſcuſſion, and of opinion; and the furious zeal with which the rich, the penſioned, and the privileged, (with a few honourable exceptions) have ſeconded theſe alarming ſtrides towards arbitrary power, ſhould convince every thinking man, that a ſyſtem, which required ſuch dangerous ſupport, muſt be too faulty† not to require to be too minutely examined. Will the disfiguring the con-

* Under the old deſpotiſm of France there was always a number of ſpies in the pay of government, whoſe buſineſs it was to inſinuate themſelves into all companies in the garb of gentlemen, that they might give information of what was paſſing in public places, and in private ſociety. It was ſuppoſed that ſome of the ſervants in every conſiderable family was in pay, to betray the ſecrets. The miniſter's plan of aſſociation is an improvement on the French:—This is not his only imitation.

† The hacknied cant, that the preſent government ſhould not be changed, becauſe England has thriven under it, is falſe. Can a government, whoſe repreſentative democracy narrows as the population increaſes, be called the ſame government at different ſtates of population? Can the government, in which the executive influences, by appointing to the offices for collecting and diſburſing two millions, or five millions, be called the ſame government as that in which the executive influences by appointing officers to collect and diſburſe nineteen millions?

ſtitution

ſtitution make the people of England more enamoured with it? Will the progreſs of human affairs be made to ſtand ſtill, by voting, with mobbiſh acclamation, abuſes eſſential, under the general head of "Excellent Conſtitution? This is governing by fear in excluſion of reaſon; this is governing by the inſtrument of deſpotiſm, by which it has been as dangerous to queſtion the infalibility of the miniſter, and the immaculate purity of the conſtitution of England, as it is to queſtion the infalibility of the Pope, or the orthodoxy of the Catholic religion in Spain.

I *have never indulged in the wild theories of political ſpeculation; PROTECTION ſeems to me the ſole

* When an equitable and ſimple government is offered to the mind at preſent, it is ſaid ſuch a government is not ſufficiently ſtrong; it cannot laſt. Why do theſe remarks bear the ſemblance of truth? Why ſhall a government; which ſubſiſts but by the means of purchaſing up the reaſon of the legiſlature, appear the beſt mankind are capable of attaining? becauſe the pre-diſpoſing order of every civil ſociety, which has yet appeared, has been too unequal, too unjuſt, to be ſupported by a government of pure reaſon, and impartial juſtice. The mind has contracted ſuch irrational and unjuſt habits of thinking, from the irrationality and injuſtice of the pre-diſpoſing order of things, it has been accuſtomed to ſee in civil ſociety, that when a ſyſtem, founded on pure juſtice, is propoſed to it, it appears out of the order of nature, becauſe uſurpation and violence have never ſuffered it to take its place there. If it had been originally the law of England, that no man ſhould have more land than he could cultivate, the idea of one man paying ſo conſiderable a part of the produce of his farm, as rent, to another, would appear at this day a monſtrous injuſtice; or if it had been the law of England, that no cultivator ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed of his farm, as long as he paid the original ſtipulated rent, it would at this day appear a flagrant oppreſſion, to allow any man to deprive the children of the benefit of their fathers' induſtry, and to ſuffer one, whoſe life was ſpent in luxurious idleneſs, to poſſeſs himſelf of the effects of another's labour.

uſe of government, and ſo fully am I convinced of the wiſdom of God, and of the preſumption and ignorance of man; that when thoſe to whom the management of public buſineſs has been intruſted, have gone one ſtep beyond affording protection, they have appeared to me to go beyond their depth, and in every ſtep they advanced after, to interfere with the induſtry and happineſs of the people. The Almighty who made the world, created man alſo; he ſuited his paſſions to the ſtate, in which he has placed him, the moſt general, the ſtrongeſt, and the moſt uniform of which is, the deſire to better his condition, which, under perfect protection, would enable him to provide as much comfort and happineſs as this world was meant to afford. But the misfortune is, that hitherto no government has been found which has not given conſiderable privileges to ſome, and thereby withheld impartial protection from the reſt; hence the curſe of forced inequalities, by introducing extremes of poverty and of wealth, *has cauſed the difficulty* * *of governing*.

I have ſaid, my ſole hope of avoiding thoſe dreadful diſorders, with which the aſpect of your affairs now threaten us, lay in the prudence and forethought of the higher orders. Let me then conjure them, in terms, if poſſible, ſtronger than the neceſſity which preſſes to

* When you contemplate government in its complex ſtate, you don't perceive, that the difficulty of government ariſes from the greatneſs of the temptation, which the *exceſſive* poverty of the many to invade the *exceſſive* wealth of the few, creates; for one injury that is done in civil ſociety to gratify revenge or paſſion, which have not ariſen about property, ten thouſand are committed in violation of property.

call

call to mind, that the eſtabliſhments of kings, lords, commons, the army, and the navy, the judicial, eccleſiaſtical, fiſcal, and magiſterial eſtabliſhments are but the means of protecting the people in their induſtry; that they have no farther title to exiſtence than as far as they promote the general good; than as far as they are neceſſary in affording protection to that induſtry by which they are maintained. Let them treaſure indelibly in their minds that *induſtry was not deſigned to ſupport eſtabliſhments, but that eſtabliſhments were deſigned to ſupport induſtry;* let them never forget, that *whilſt the growing population of the people demands the moſt ſimple, and the leaſt expenſive means of protection, their growing knowledge enables them, and their growing wants compell them to inſtitute them*—Away with the impotent attempts of human laws to counteract the laws of nature; man lives but by the wages of induſtry, and according to the proportion the wages fund, bears to population, ſo is his happineſs or miſery. If the pre-diſpoſing order of things is ſo inſtituted as to cauſe this fund to grow, with the growing population, the people will be bleſt with plenty; if not, if it is ſquandered, their growing numbers muſt be a growing curſe; it is the ſtate of this ſacred fund which regulates the condition of mankind, if it is violated by eſtabliſhment uſeleſs or expenſive, if it is violated by giving an ill direction to property, to gratify pride or ambition, it is the inflexible decree of God, that the ſacrilege ſhall not go unpuniſhed; like every other tranſgreſſion of his laws, it carries its chaſtiſement along with it; it converts the ſufferers into furies, and drives

them raging into all the horrors of revolution. What an awful moment! You are on the very verge of the precipice, with but one alternative, diſengage yourſelves from theſe eſtabliſhments, whoſe numbers and whoſe weight muſt overwhelm you in ruin; if you would purchaſe ſalvation, caſt off ſuperfluous eſtabliſhments, and lighten what you keep. It will ſoon ceaſe to be a queſtion, after what manner the people ſhall maintain families, and be maintained, but how they ſhall be able to find ſubſiſtence. For every hour the direction, which is now given to property, which tends towards giving maintenance to unproductive idleneſs, is ſuffered to continue; the rich are loudly called on to decide, whether they will perſevere in detaining power and property in the poſſeſſion of a few thouſands by thoſe laws, by which they have been monopolized; or whether they will let property take its natural courſe, and by their repeal, reſtore families to their inheritance, *whereby millions from being in that abject ſtate, which makes all mention of univerſal ſuffrage abſurd, will be exalted to the ſtate of free agents, and thereby millions, from having the greateſt intereſt in the deſtruction of property, will come to have the ſtrongeſt intereſt in its defence*; it is for want of a due conſideration of theſe pre-diſpoſing principles that all your reformers have given ſuch imperfect plans, they have none of them ſunk their foundation ſufficiently deep, but would raiſe a ſuperſtructure on a tottering baſe.

Were I to conſider only the impending horrors, and the inevitable conſequence of that phyſical neceſſity, which ſo violently preſſes, my hopes that the rich and

the

the privileged would take warning, would out-ſtrip my fears; but when I reflect on the ranſom, the ſurrender of power, however precarious, and of family pride, however vain, hope appears but as the illuſory phantom of the diſordered brain. In vain you will be told, that to eſcape the ſtorm which now rages in France, and houls through England, you muſt call forth the whole of thoſe abilities, and that good ſenſe, with which you were ſo eminently gifted, and lay by the whole of that infatuation, by which they have been ſuppreſſed; you muſt recall that temper which will enable reaſon to reſume her ſeat amongſt you, and, above all, you muſt aſſume that exalted virtue, which, not ſatisfied with the diſdainful rejection of the wages for betraying public truſt, boldly come forward to make thoſe ſacrifices, at the ſhrine of true patriotiſm, for which poſterity have immortalized their beloved Hambden, Sydney, and Ruſſell, who nobly died that Liberty may live, and that after-generations may enjoy the freedom they bled for.

Men unaccuſtomed to think profoundly on government, are at a loſs to account, how millions endure the deſpotiſm of cabinets, ſupported by a few thouſands; how millions ſuffer the continuance of thoſe pre-diſpoſing laws, by which a few monopolize all power and landed property, the problem is ſolved, when you conſider, that the people, though ſo much more numerous than the government, their armed force, and unarmed hirelings, want that combination and uniſon of action, which every government poſſeſſes, ſo that before the people can combine to overthrow the deſpo-

tiſm

tiſm of bad governments, they are overpowered by its already collected force: hence nothing effectually overturns government, but that general diſtreſs, which by being univerſally felt, ſerves as a general word of command to a whole people, by which they combine their irreſiſtible ſtrength. Hence the people are paſſive to that degree, which poſterity have called criminal. Hence alſo they are ſo terrible when rouſed. Had the efforts of growing knowledge, in deſtroying thoſe abſurd inſtitutions, now ſanctified throughout Europe, under the title of Conſtitution, and legal Government, which have been ſet over men in times of ignorance, kept pace with the wants of mankind as population increaſed—Had the governments of Europe not acted like unnatural, prodigal fathers, who begin to incumber their fortunes as their families increaſe; thoſe wants, and thoſe oppreſſions which have maddened France, would not have made every other European government tremble. Silly, ſilly, ſilly nation! In the midſt of your joy for having deſtroyed the French fleet, know, that in deſtroying France itſelf, you deſtroy a conſiderable part of that trade on which your precarious exiſtence depends, commerce muſt have buyers as well as ſellers. Know, that the deſtruction of France would not pay one ſhilling of that debt, whoſe exploſion is as certain as its increaſe under your preſent conſtitution is incontrovertible: and above all things, know, that realizing your moſt extravagant hopes of ſucceſs, will not change that national extravagance in the expenditure of the national wealth, by which too much unproductive idleneſs is maintained; for that

national

national œconomy, by which the wages of productive induſtry would be augmented, which your increaſing family cries aloud for. The event of which, together with ſtill further additional taxes, muſt occaſion that general diſtreſs which muſt CAUSE A REVOLUTION.

A STOIC.

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